NOTICES

OF

MADRAS

AND

CUDDALORE,

In the last Century,

FROM

THE JOURNALS AND LETTERS

OF THE EARLIER

MISSIONARIES OF THE SOCIETY

FOR

PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

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TO

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

THE PRESIDENT,

AND

THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

This Work

IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

INTRODUCTION.

The Notices contained in the following pages are selected and condensed from the Journals and Letters of the earlier Missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

A Diary and Letters commencing as far back as the year 1726, (nearly a century and a half ago) must possess a certain degree of interest under any circumstances; and this interest is not diminished by the fact of their being written in India, a country to which public attention is now strongly directed.

Regarded as a whole, these Journals do not differ much from those of recent Missions. The Missionaries were appointed, and their salaries paid, by the Society in England; and large additional funds in aid of the Mission, were remitted from Germany. It was therefore expected from them, and was indeed expedient, that they should transmit periodical accounts of their proceedings, both for the satisfaction of their Superiors, and the encouragement of Benefactors. These communications assumed, from the first, the form of a day-book of missionary-work, written by the Missionaries conjointly, or in their joint

names. Hence, it is not surprising that when read consecutively, they appear to abound in repetitions and general summaries; and that the conversations with heathens, of which they principally consist, should present recapitulations of the same elementary truths in somewhat different phraseology. Of this, they were themselves aware. "The record of such conversations," says the Missionary Schultze, "involves repetitions; for, though the words may vary, the truths are the same; and the heathens meet you with the same questions and objections they addressed to Mr. Ziegenbalg." In fact, they are not properly conversations, but minutes of conversations; with the further disadvantage to the vivacity of dialogue, that they recapitulate chiefly the heads of what the Missionary himself had said.

Still, it was to be expected that one familiar with these Journals might find occasional passages worthy of being cited or condensed. To refer to political events, or to the social condition and circumstances of Europeans, was foreign to their Mission, which was to heathens; but some notices of individuals and incidents, as affecting themselves or their office, were inevitable; and these, even if slight, are, at this distance of time, interesting, as memorials of persons and of a state of things, long since passed away. In addition to this, notices of the character and temper, the habits and customs, the religion and ceremonies, the texture of society and civil

polity of Hindoos and Mohammedans, recorded by competent eye-witnesses, above a century ago, not in the way of treatise, but from the life, have some value and interest still. And, lastly, some curiosity is natural as to the history, character, working, and results of the first Protestant Mission established by England in India.

The date of the first Christian Mission to India, refers back to a much earlier period, the arrival and settlement of the Portuguese. Wherever that once enterprizing people went, they carried with them their religion, and the means and will to propagate it, with as little disposition to defer to paganism, as the Mahometan conquerors of India had evinced before them, or as the French displayed after them. When the first Danish Missionaries arrived at Tranquebar, the Roman Catholic Missionaries had been in the country two hundred years, and their number was estimated at two thousand.

It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Protestants of Europe began to turn their thoughts to the establishment of Missions to India; and the honour of having done so, belongs exclusively to Frederick IV. of Denmark, the contemporary and antagonist of Charles XII. of Sweden. At that time, Europe reposing from controversy, began to feel the genial effects of a revival of practical religion, commencing at the University of Halle, as a centre,

and radiating over every part of the continent. Under its influence, and guided by the advice of Luetken, a friend of Spener and Francke, Frederick resolved to found a Mission at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar. On the 9th of July, 1706, Ziegenbalg arrived at that place, and in 1709, he was joined by Gruendler.

In 1719, Benjamin Schultze, passed through London on his way to India, and was presented to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and to Archbishop Wake, its President. He arrived at Tranquebar, Sept. 16, of the same year, where he first heard of the death of Ziegenbalg, which was followed, in the ensuing year, by that of Gruendler. The charge of the Mission, during the six following years, devolved almost wholly upon Schultze.

In 1726, additional Missionaries having arrived, Schultze, (then in his thirty-seventh year,) resolved to fulfil a long-cherished wish, to take a journey to preach the gospel among the heathen, beyond the limits of the Danish Settlement. It is, at this point, the Diary commences. Two years afterwards, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge appointed him their first Missionary.

NOTICES OF MADRAS,

AND THE

COAST OF COROMANDEL.

Mr. MISSIONARY SCHULTZE'S DIARY FOR 1726.

Tranquebar, Feb. 18, 1726.—I made preparations for my journey to Madras, and wrote to Governor Pitt, mentioning that I should pass through Cuddalore.

Feb. 22.—I finished the collation of the Hebrew text with the Malabar Version, and handed over, ad interim, the care of the Mission to the new missionaries.

Feb. 25.—I went on board the selling [boat] by which we were to be conveyed to Cuddalore, for ten dollars. The land-journey through Tanjore is very expensive, on account of the many tolls, so that there is no better way than that I have chosen. The missionaries, and above a hundred other persons, accompanied me to the shore.

Feb. 26.—We arrived at Cuddalore. Governor Pitt was not at home, but I saw Mr. Robin Berriman. I then went to the School* with Mr. Beck, the schoolmaster, and lodged there.

Feb. 27.—I waited on Governor Pitt. I had to go by boat

* A Charity-School for English and half-caste children. The Danish Mission occasionally assisted it.

up the river to get to the Fort; for which, going and returning, the charge is half a Cuddalore fanam. I had then to walk a mile farther to the Company's Garden, at which the Governor resides. He invited me to stay dinner, as well as to free table, as long as I should remain at Cuddalore. I thanked him, but having business at my lodging, I excused myself, and took leave.

Feb. 28.—I called on Mr. Burton, the Second,* whom I then saw for the first time, though we had exchanged letters several years before. He was very courteous, and expressed a wish to hear me preach in the Malabar language. He promised to speak to the Governor to-day, and to serve me in the business of the mission in any way I wished. Other Englishmen came in, and all expressed their favourable disposition. In the afternoon, I visited the heathen schools, and addressed the schoolmasters and children.

Sunday, March 3.—The English had no Service, their Reader being ill. I held a Portuguese meeting at the School, which was attended by many English soldiers. In the afternoon, I had a Malabar Service; and in the evening, a prayer meeting with the Germans.

March 5.—I visited four heathen schools. In the first, there were fifty children. I taught them to repeat a text, and left it with them written on an oles, or palmyra-leaf. In the next school, there were but few children. I said to the master: I see you have but few children, but if I become your colleague, you will get more. He said, I believe it. Before I had done talking with him, the house was so filled with people who came to listen, that the door was blocked up. I turned to the schoolmaster and said: Didn't I say that if I helped you, you would get abundance of scholars? At the

* Or "Seconde:" the Member of Council second in rank to the Governor.

third school, the master was not present. I said: One schoolmaster is absent, and another is present. The children and people understood that I called myself their schoolmaster, and were much pleased. I taught them, and made them learn a text.

March 8.—I went to Tiruppadiripulliur, a very large village on the Company's Ground. The three brahmins who belonged to the pagoda came to meet me; and after some conversation about the pagoda, I began to declare to them the doctrine of the true God. While I was speaking, they said one to another: "What he says is true: the one great God created all things; and as to our stone-gods and pagodas, they are not intended for the wise, but for the simple, to instil a blind fear into them, and retain them in civil obedience." The walls round this pagoda are prostrate, the Moors* having battered them down thirty years ago; and for want of funds, they have never been rebuilt. As I was returning, a Malabar who speaks English, asked me for a spelling-book: I gave him The Guide to the English Tongue,† and a tract.

March 11.—I crossed in a boat to Devanapatnam, an extensive town in the Company's Ground, towards Pondicherry. In it, were five schools. From them, I betook myself to the hospital, and visited a sick German soldier. Mr. Backer [Baker?] invited me to his house. This Englishman and his

* So the Mahometans were then called. The designation was first applied to them by the Portuguese, the Mahometans of Africa being known as "Moors" in Portugal. The track of the Portuguese was visible in India long after their empire had ceased.

† Printed at the Mission Press at Tranquebar, in 1716, at the instance of the Rev. Wm. Stevenson, Chaplain at Madras, for the use of a Charity School founded there for the children of the English. The title is cited (in 1716) as follows:—"A Guide to the English. Tongue. Proper for Beginners. Schgoing a Natural." It was reprinted in 1723 as "A Guide to the English Tongue, by Thomas Dyche."

wife, were friends of the mission in the time of Mr. Probst* Ziegenbalg. For the same reason, they wished to become acquainted with me.

Sunday, March 17.—Governor Pitt invited me to dinner. All the Council were present, both the Captains, the Major from Madras, besides others.

March 19.—I visited four heathen schools. The heathen children danced in the streets with pleasure, singing aloud the texts they had learned.

March 26.—I went to a heathen school and explained the Scriptures. A great number of people assembled; and when I catechized them, to ascertain if they understood what I preached, their delight was great. They smacked with their mouths, and rolled their heads from side to side—their way of expressing pleasure. I gave the schoolmaster a tract. But this was not enough; one of my people must read it through to them in a clear and audible voice. When he had finished, the inhabitants said to the master: Teach this book to our children.

April 1.—I set out on a journey through the Mogul's country, intending to go to Porto Novo. At noon, I turned into the rest-house, built by Variatschi. To the Pandaram, who had charge of it, and who waited on travellers, I spoke of the rest-house above, to which God will conduct all who truly know him. The man looked at me, and was half disconcerted that I should speak such words of any other rest-house; but concluded by thanking me "for this wise instruction." We passed the night at the rest-house at Mottuppaleiam. The people were surprised to see me travelling on foot, and eating my rice from a leaf, as the common people do on their journeys.

* Probst. An office or title in the Danish Church. It was distinct from that of Superintendant.

April 2.—We arrived at Porto Novo, and took up our abode at the Danish Factory. In the afternoon, I visited the Head and other Voices of the Dutch Factory. Porto Novo has no walls, but stands in the midst of a number of palm-trees. In extent, it exceeds Cuddalore; which is far larger than Tranquebar. It has six streets, running from north to south; and nine, from east to west. Half the inhabitants are Moors; the other half are heathens. The Commandant is a brahmin. His authority extends over many other towns and villages, besides Porto Novo. When he goes out, it is with a great following, as I myself witnessed. Fifty taliars* precede him, attended by heathen musicians. Then follow two Moors, on horseback; then, the Commandant himself, in a handsome palanquin; then, the member of council next in rank, in a palanquin; and so on. His suite occupied half a street.

April 5.—We went to Sidambaram,† [Chillumbrum] a town about three hours from Porto Novo. I carried a letter of introduction to the Moorish Governor, that I might get leave to see the Pagoda, which is celebrated throughout the whole Coast. We arrived at eight o'clock in the morning; and while a taliar took in my letter, I delivered a stand-sermon to a number of Malabars who were collected round me. When the taliar returned, he told me that the Governor had gone to bed late last night, and some time might elapse before he got up; but that, in the meantime, I might go into the garden. It was twelve o'clock before the Governor sent me permission;

* Tamul soldiers wearing the native dress. A more "regular" class of soldiers were the (so-called) Portuguese, who were dressed after the European fashion, and spoke the low Portuguese of the country.

† So called by the Tamuls: the English called it Chillumbrum. By a bolder metonymy, Paleiacatta is Anglified into Pulicat; and Cobelao into Covelong. The orthography of Indian names was as unsettled then as now. The ear was the uncertain guide.

but he made excuses for detaining me, and said he should be glad for me to stop two or three days. At three o'clock, when it began to be somewhat cool, I repaired to Sidambaram, and entered the Fort. It has but one entrance; and before I had passed through the winding passage upon the open place, I had to pass three gates and watches. The brahmins received me courteously, and led me round every part of it. It is worthy of remark that, at this place, they introduce strangers into the pagoda, which is not usual elsewhere. It is only since the Moors have obtained the upper hand, that this has been the custom. There are four very high towers built of hewn stone, and visible at a great distance along the coast. On the outside, are sculptured figures of their gods. The entrance resembles a triumphal arch. The polished columns within, are as high as the tallest fig-tree, each hewn out of a single block. The beams that rest on these columns are also of single stones, beautifully polished, and bearing inscriptions. The whole fills the mind with astonishment. The brahmins say that no one knows when and by whom it was built; and that it must have been reared by giants or by the gods themselves. Besides the stupendous towers, the pagoda contains many vast temples—one, vaulted and painted; and all adorned with stately columns, each of one block. Rows of columns succeed one another, sculptured with animals, flowers, and gods. A chain of stone hangs down.* One god is represented with six faces and twelve hands, seated on a peacock; the whole of one stone. In one of the temples, there is a large bell.

* "This chain is one of the curiosities of the temple. It is of granite, 548 feet long, beautifully wrought and polished, forming four festoons, and extending from the four angles of the cupola to the nave. Each link of the chain is above three feet in length, and the whole is supported by four huge stones, projecting in the form of wedges from the walls."—Legoux de Flaix tom. i. p. 118.

All the temples are surrounded by cloisters and lattice-work. Every corner has its sculptured god. The roof of their "holy-place" is covered with copper. A stream of water runs round this temple, "for the gods to bathe and cool themselves a little, when the weather is hot"—the brahmins said. On the opposite side, is a circular well of some depth, not walled in, but formed of solid blocks of stone, hollowed out and fitted together. Not far from it is "a sea" formed of a single stone. The great Court is paved with wrought stones, red and blue, each an ell long. Farther on, within the Fort, near the pagoda, is a square tank, surrounded with a wall formed of large blue stones, with four distinct flights of steps leading down to the water. Around are pillared galleries covered-in for shade. Thence, you arrive at a most beautiful Hall of a thousand columns, such as no architect would uudertake to excel. This Hall is used by the Mahometan Governor as a granary! In the open Court, stand fifty lofty pillars; and attached to them is a canopy of cloth. Here, they tell you, the gods are wont to assemble. A spacious vaulted chamber adjoining, is appropriated to a white Cow sculptured from stone, recumbent, and as large as an elephant. Formerly, there were a thousand ministering brahmins; at present, there are but few. The name of the chief deity is Sidambaresubarer. This god is not here now; for being of pure gold, his image is said to have been carried away by the brahmins at the time the Moors took possession of the place. Of this idol, they tell the following story. When the goldsmith and his men were employed in making it, and all was ready for the casting, a stranger approached them, and said: I am very thirsty; give me a drink of water. The master and his men were annoyed at this demand, and answered: You see what we have in hand, how can you come and ask us for water? Upon this,

the stranger seized the melting pot, and drank the molten gold; when, on recovering themselves, behold, an image stood before them with hands and feet. Then the goldsmith and his fellows knew that this was no man, but a god, who had moulded the image within himself. There is another story they tell about the pagoda. The god, they say, is still in his place, though his image is removed elsewhere. He consists of a thousand souls or spirits. Nine hundred and ninety-nine traverse the world from one end to the other, and receive the homage of offerings. At five o'clock in the morning, they arise and repair to their several places, and there remain till midnight. From midnight to five o'clock, they are assembled together in this pagoda.

In the Fort, many malefactors are imprisoned; the Governor having under him an extensive district. It is built chiefly of squared blue stones; by whom no one can tell. The pagoda cannot have been erected since the Moors came into the country, because, since then, heathenism has been on the decline. Possibly, the inscriptions, which are numerous, may disclose its date and the name of the founder. Perhaps one of the brahmins might be engaged to copy them. They are very poor, and several of them ran some distance after me to obtain a gift. Having seen all that was possible in a short time, we returned to Porto Novo, where we arrived at six o'clock.

April 7.—I left Porto Novo for Cuddalore. The Moor who has the oversight of the Danish Factory, and who showed me all possible attention during my stay, accompanied me a good part of the way. We travelled along the sea-shore, which was as firm as a board; and arrived, by the light of the moon, at a fishing-village called Aipatty. We could get no one to receive us into their huts; till, at the extremity of the village,

an old woman who, with her two sons and some pigs, lived in a straw hovel, allowed me space sufficient to spread my mat on the sand; and there I passed the night. On the 8th, we arrived at Cuddalore.

April 12.—We visited a village near the town. Almost all the inhabitants congregated round us. Two of them appeared to be filled with zeal, and screamed as if they thought themselves compelled to embrace a new religion. For, by this time, it had become known that I go about the country and address the people respecting Christianity. As soon, therefore, as they catch sight of me, they conclude that I am not come without good reason. Some try to hide themselves, and thus I often come upon them unperceived, and engage them in conversation. The two people who appeared so opposed at first, I left quite pacified, by explaining the unanswerable truth in meekness and love.

April 21. Holy Easter-Day.—I preached in Portuguese twice. I also attended the English Service, held in a long, narrow room in the Fort, which had been fitted up as a Chapel by Governor Jennings.

April 29.—I took leave of Governor Pitt and Mr. Burton, and at three o'clock on the morning of the 29th, we crossed in a boat to Devanapatnam. It was five o'clock before we arrived at the Castle. Thence we travelled through the Mogul's country, by the ordinary road, which is now free from danger both night and day, as well as from all tolls. Till lately, the heathen and Moorish toll-collectors behaved almost as ill as they still do in Tanjore; exacting with violence more than their legal dues; seizing the clothes of the poor for toll; and beating the poor beggars who had no clothes. This cruelty moved the pity of a wealthy heathen at Madras, who wrote to the Mogul and offered a large sum of

money in lieu of the tolls; and now, for the last two years, all tolls on the sea-coast to Madras are done away with for ever. In this, the compassionate heathen has bestowed a great boon on future missionaries. Towards evening, we crossed Sunnamparum, the river or arm of the sea that constitutes the boundary between the Mogul's territory, and the Ground of the French Company at Pondicherry. Here there was little opportunity of preaching, the people being Romish-Catholics, and the day far-spent. During the few years that have elapsed since a new Company has been established, the French have considerably recovered themselves. The town is now enclosed by a wall, which they are working at with great zeal. Five large ships lay at anchor opposite the town.

May 2.—We arrived at Kunimori, an extensive village, with wide streets. The houses stand far apart, and have few inhabitants. Formerly, the Dutch and English had Factories here. The Dutch have removed their trade, but their buildings are standing. The English Factory is a desolate ruin, to which the last storm has much contributed. Towards evening, we turned into Kureikattashavari, a rest-house built by a servant of Governor Jennings, who maintains people to wait on travellers. From here to Madras, the jungle-people spoke very broken Malabar; and the nearer we approached Madras, the more we heard the Varuga language. There were many foxes [jackalls] here, so that we needed dogs to chase them from the rest-house.

May 5, Sunday, Misericordias Domini: We had Service in a rest-house. Four Dutchmen arrived from Sadraspatnam for a walk. This town, like Porto Novo, is open; but it is smaller. It contains seven heathen schools. The Dutch have a Factory here. The Chief they call "the Captain;" the second Voice, "Seconde," as at Porto Novo. They have five

White soldiers and a corporal, a cashier, and several writers; in all, about twelve Europeans. They have no Church; no preacher; though, we were told, they meet for Sunday-worship in the Captain's house. The Romish-Catholics, not above twenty in number, have a small church. Once or twice a year, a Pater* comes over from St. Thomé to read mass. A good deal of blue cloth is dyed in the town.

May 6.—We arrived at Mavulipuram: it contains ten families, and twenty houses full of brahmins. Here, nothing is to be seen but vast uncouth rocks. A brahmin pointed out the antiquities, and related the following fable:—Vishnu is of the shepherd-caste; and, once on a time, to display his power, poured milk into a hollow rock,—(this cistern he pointed out)—and thereupon began to make butter. When the butter was made, he deposited it on a sloping rock, where it was turned into an everlasting stone. The stone we saw. It is as large as a peasant's house, oval, and broken-off at the upper end; and is poised on so narrow a base as to look quite threatening. The brahmin said they had once harnessed twelve elephants to this butter-stone, and failed to move it. He also told us that a cat had come and lapped a little of Vishnu's butter-milk; that this poor beast had committed so great a sin that it must be expiated; and that the cat was therefore turned into stone here, condemned to be an eternal spectacle. The brahmin pointed out several middle-sized pagodas, hewn out of the rock, and wrought with great art, both inside and outside. One large pagoda had eighteen columns, the whole out of a single rock.—Thence we went to the strand to see Mavalipuram's pagoda. Its fall is near, for the sea has already rent its encircling wall, and rages loose about it. A great city is said to have stood where now the sea urges its waves.

* So the word is written: no doubt, the word in use was "Padre."

May 7.—We pursued our way to Cobelao [Covelong], called Sadraspatnam by the Imperialists. This place belongs to the Mogul, who maintains a Governor here. They have a handsome castle. The Imperialists, or Ostend Company, have also a Governor, and a few Whites, besides a Pater born at St. Thomé.

May 8.—We encountered travellers from Madras every minute. Presently, we caught sight of St. Thomé. Leaving Mount St. Thomé to the left, we passed through Maleiappore; and at six p.m. arrived at Madras. I saw the Governor in his Garden, who wished me success. All my things arrived this morning by the Cuddalore sloop. I received letters from Tranquebar informing me that all was going on well.

May 8.—Mr. Leeke, the second English Chaplain, having learned my arrival, called at my lodging, and invited me to take up my quarters with him.

May 10.—I spent the forenoon and afternoon in calling on the Members of Council. They were all very courteous, and glad to hear of the mission-establishments at Tranquebar; wished me much success; and offered me their services. In the evening, I walked out with Mr. Leeke, when I had opportunity, in his presence and that of other Englishmen, to address the heathens; which pleased them well.

May 11.—In company with Mr. Leeke, I called on the Captain-Major at his house near the Gate. Several Englishmen called to see me at Mr. Leeke's.

From a letter of Mr. Schultze to his colleagues at Tranquebar.

Fort St. George, near Madras,
May 11, 1726.

My dear Colleagues,

After devoting some time, at Cuddalore and the surrounding villages, besides several days in the Mogul's country,

to preaching the Gospel; I resolved to prosecute my journey to Madras, and make known everywhere among the heathen the name of Christ. Wherever it was possible, I travelled on foot; speaking in almost all the villages I passed through. My nights I spent in the rest-houses, among the Malabars; so that I met few Europeans, and those who saw me, took me for a freeman from Cuddalore. The discouraging thoughts I previously entertained as to the journey, have not been realized. By God's help, all things are possible to us; and for Christ's sake, all difficulties are made easy. I will not complain, therefore, of the deep sands, the hot sun, or of the thirst and hunger which, with continual weariness, have been our companions.

At Cuddalore, I held meetings every evening, with the Germans and others who began to seek God. Every Sunday, I preached twice in Portuguese, when a large number were often present. Many wished me to remain longer; but it appeared probable that I should meet still more patrons and friends of the Mission, at Madras.

Mr. Leeke, the second Chaplain at Madras, earnestly pressed me to lodge with him. I accepted his very kind invitation with thanks, and am much delighted with him. He is, in truth, a desired friend; and will cheerfully assist me, if it please God to open the way; of which I do not doubt.

The Governor was extremely courteous, and all the Members of Council were glad to see me, and to hear of the present circumstances of the Protestant Mission. They wondered at my journey, and especially at my travelling on foot, and often barefoot, and my wading across the rivers. Mr. Leeke sends his service to you all. I lodge with him at the Fort; the Governor resides at his Garden.

Your faithful fellow-labourer,

B. SCHULTZE.

May 12, Sunday Jubilate.—I accompanied Mr. Leeke to the English Church. He preached in the morning, and had Prayers in the afternoon. At noon, I was invited, with Mr. Wendis, to dine at the Governor's.* In the evening, I had a Meeting with our few countrymen.

May 14.—Mr. Leeke went with me to St. Thomas's Mount. There are two, the Little Mount, and the Great Mount. On the former, we conversed with an old Padre from Silesia, who had been twenty-seven years in India. On this Mount, St. Thomas is said to have been, and among other miracles, to have cleft a rock, out of which water flows. They show his foot-step in the rock. A small church stands on the crest of the Mount; and to the left-hand, near the altar, is a small cave; where, they say, St. Thomas lodged. The Great Mount is a mile farther on. Between, there is a body of water, which is swollen in the rainy season. There is a stone-bridge over this water, now old and ruinous, which a rich Armenian is renewing and enlarging at his own expense. On the Great Mount, there is also a church, served by two Patres. Here, St. Thomas is said to have marked a Cross on the rock with his finger. For greater convenience in ascending the Mount, the same Armenian has built a flight of steps, flanked with stone benches to rest on.

May 16.—Two persons called on me who spoke German. One was a merchant (Kaufmann) named George, who goes about in the attire of an Armenian, and is generally called "The Greek." The other was a Catholic Pater, a native of Vienna, lately arrived from China. He complained of the miserable state of Christianity in China; that it was almost all over with their Mission; and that there was no hope for

* Sunday was held by the Governors as a reception-day; and attendance was expected.

it, during the life of the present emperor. The Paters of the various Orders still kept together at Canton; but knew not what to do, except to await instructions from Europe. Thirty had departed to Malacca, where they still remain. The Paters at Pekin who had been made mandarins, were compelled to wait on the emperor, like the other ministers. One paints; another, is an astrologer; a third, a physician; a fourth, a musician; a fifth, an apothecary; and so on. For all their labour, they receive nothing but lodging and board. As to converting the heathens, their hands are quite tied. The eldest brother of the emperor, who had become a Christian, was, with a Pater, banished to Tartary, the Pater loaded with nine chains. There are Patres still at Canton, where they had nine churches; but they are all under arrest, and must not go out into the country.

May 17.—The minister of the king of Pegu called on me. From him, I learned, through an interpreter, that Christians of all nations and confessions have perfect freedom at Pegu; that even in the Capital, two French, two Armenian, and two Portuguese Patres, have their churches and congregations. The whole country is covered with forests, full of elephants; in these, the inhabitants trade, and bring them to Madras. There are, at the present time, thirty-two elephants here for sale; about twenty have been already sold up the country. The present king has three sons and two daughters, and an army of 10,000 soldiers. In the city of Pegu, there are Malabar, Portuguese, and Peguan schools. The language does not appear difficult. With a favourable wind, the passage from Madras to Pegu can be made in ten days.

May 19.—Mr. Leeke accompanied me to speak to the heathens.

May 21.—I visited the French Pater stationed here. He

has been in India twenty-three years, and understands Portuguese and Malabar well. He has erected a new and excellent church at a cost of 3600 dollars. His manner was very quiet.

May 26, Sunday Rogate.—After divine Service, Mr. Leeke induced me to go out and speak to a brahmin outside the gate. He had come from far up the country, and spoke Varuga. He had made a vow to suspend himself over a fire every day for twelve years.

May 27.—I set off on a journey to Paleiacatta [Pulicat], where I arrived next day, and called on the Head of the Holland Company. Mr. Leeke and anothor good friend arrived at noon. According to English reckoning, Palëiacatta is twenty miles from Madras. It has a handsome castle, and some good stone-houses. I preached in the street. Mr. Leeke and Mr. Campbell, the merchant, expressed their satisfaction to my hearers.

May 29.—The Portuguese Reader here, is the person who gave the late missionary, Mr. Magister Gruendler, the Spanish Bible we have at Tranquebar. I presented him with the Portuguese Psalter; and to the Malabar Reader, I gave the Malabar Psalter and a tract. They were highly pleased. The Protestant friends love our Tranquebar books much.

June 2, Sunday Exaudi.—I attended the Hollanders' church, which begins at half-past nine and continues till ten. They have fitted up a handsome hall in the castle for the purpose. They have no Chaplain; but a Reader is appointed to conduct the singing and read a sermon. Once in two or three years, a preacher comes to baptize the children, and administer the Holy Supper. At three in the afternoon, the Malabar Christian Service was held at the little church in the town. They have collected a small congregation. Heretofore, there was a native preacher, who preached both in Malabar and Portuguese. At

present, the Catechist above-mentioned conducts the catechizing, singing, and reading. The sermons are sent to him from Ceylon, and also a few psalms, which a Malabar has translated into unintelligible verse, according to the heathen style of singing. The author of the Malabar Sermons, as well as of the Church-Uses for Baptism and the Supper, is, in my opinion, Baldæus. The matter is good, and his remarkable diligence is to be commended; but not being a proficient in the Malabar language, he employed an interpreter, and therefore there is much that needs correction. Besides, the Malabars on the Pepper-Coast have partly another dialect;* and use words and phrases of which the common people on this Coast are ignorant. Much of the use of these Sermons therefore fails; the people cannot fully understand them.

As soon as the Malabar congregation heard of my arrival, some of the elder members came and asked me to preach on Holy Ascension-day. I answered that I would do so with great pleasure, if I received the Governor's order. Upon this, they went to him, presented their request, and brought me this answer—that if I would call on him to-morrow, he would speak to me on the subject. This they construed in their own way, and made sure that I should preach. Accordingly, not only the entire congregation, but many Holland and Portuguese Christians, besides Catholics, Moors, and heathens, assembled in and around the church. The Governor, however, did not speak one word to me about preaching, and they all returned home, not knowing how the case stood. Being aware of all this, I went to their church to-day, and heard the Catechist.

*The Malayalim or Malabar language. That which the Missionaries (following the then practice of Europeans) called the Malabar language, is properly the Tamul. The Portuguese, in 1503, landed first on the Malabar coast, and afterwards transferred the name "Malabar" to the language spoken on the Coromandel Coast.

As soon as the Service was concluded, I hastened out of the church; and taking my stand under a tree, the whole congregation collected around me, and others with them; and so I preached to them.

To the Portuguese Congregation, there is only a Reader, and he has but twelve sermons! This has gone on for many years; so one may easily compute how many times he must have repeated them. I have promised to provide him some help in this matter.

June 4.—We visited a neighbouring village, at the end of which is a large tank. Around it are brahmins' houses, who were all sitting at their doors. One of them answered me in Portuguese. I was surprised; for he was the first brahmin I had ever heard speak that language. In reply to my inquiries, he told me that, in his youth, he had attended the Christian school, where he had learned Portuguese, and to read and write. He also understood Dutch. I had no occasion to tell him of the doctrines of Christianity, for he knew it as a history; but indifferentism was his religion. While I was talking to him, a dog rushed by and brushed his back. Thus, the poor man was made unclean; and breaking off the conversation, he hurried to the tank to purify himself.

June 6.—I visited all the schools in Paleiacatta. In four, the children learned Malabar; in one, Varuga. The last I entered was a Mahometan school, where they were learning a portion of the Koran.

June 7.—I went to the village Irumani. The inhabitants are all cotton-weavers and calico-painters, and work for the Dutch Company. I could get none to listen to me; they were all busy at their work. In this large village they have no school. Even the youngest children are employed in helping their fathers to lay on the colours, and labour for their bread.

It was partly this that deterred me from going to Irukkam, another village belonging to the Company, seven Dutch miles from Paleiacatta, and situated in an island formed by the river, and infested by serpents. In the afternoon I went to Kuppam, a village near the Castle, inhabited by Protestant Christians and Catholics; the latter of whom, since the Patres in Madras and St. Thomé have lent them a helping hand, have built a small church.

June 11.—We returned to Madras. By the man who carried our clothes, I sent to the Malabar Catechist at Paleiacatta, the Malabar Old Testament, the Doxology, the History of the Sufferings of Christ; and to the Portuguese Reader, the last-named book in Portuguese.

June 16.—The Mary, the first European ship, arrived. I received a letter from Mr. Secretary Newman,* announcing that the mission at Tranquebar would receive one hundred and forty reams of paper for printing the Malabar Bible.

June 19.—I went to Tiruvilackem, a village on the Company's Ground, said to contain two hundred brahmin families. I preached in front of two schools in which Kirendum, the brahmins' language, is taught.

June 20.—I visited St. Thomé or Maleiappore. The Fort, which belonged to the Portuguese, might have been well enough one hundred years ago or more, when first erected. Its circuit is rather extensive. At present the Padre Governador resides in it, together with the chief Portuguese. They have two churches within the Fort, and one in the town. Altogether, the congregations belonging to those churches, and to those on the Great and Little Mounts, exceed one thousand souls. St. Thomé church is the principal one. Hard by, is a small chapel where a heathen pagoda once stood. At this spot St.

* Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Thomas is said to have plucked up a tree, which elephants could not move. A church has been erected in memory of it.

I called on the Padre Governador, a man of quiet demeanour. He took occasion to speak of the Catholic Congregation and their Padre, at Tranquebar. Being noon, he invited me to eat, but I excused myself.

June 26—29.—I incorporated in my German-Malabar Lexicon the words I had introduced into the translation of the Bible. In various instances, I had been compelled to employ words and forms of speech not to be found in this Lexicon.

June 28.—I received a letter from Professor Francke, dated Feb. 4, 1725, in which the dear Professor mentions that in approaching age and infirmity of body, he reminds himself daily and hourly of his mortality, and prepares to enter a blessed eternity.

June 30.—Two English ships arrived, the King George and the Middlesex, but brought no letters for me. I accompanied Mr. Leeke to the English church, and afterwards to the Governor's.

July 2.—We set out on a journey to preach to the heathens in the Mogul's country. At Parengimalei, an old man asked me if I were, like himself, a Roman Catholic. I said: If I am a true Christian, and Catholic, what is the use of the other name? After some further conversation, he said: We have in Madras and St. Thomé, near thirty priests. If we obey them, we are safe. I asked if they had got the Bible? He said: Yes. I rejoined: No: what you have of the Bible in Malabar, is only short historical questions, with nothing of the marrow of it. At Vallapuram, there was a school of thirty children. The schoolmaster was a brahmin, young, but clever and instructed. I asked the children: Who is your God? They heaved their hands to heaven, and said: He is in heaven, and dwells in men's hearts. I was pleased with the

answer. I then asked: What they held as to the stone-god in the pagoda? The schoolmaster interposed: The stone is stone, and no god; our people have set it up only to remind them of God. In the evening, when the school was closed, the children ranged themselves in two rows, and made their evening prayer; a thing I had never yet seen among the heathens. They laid aside their books, raised their hands towards heaven, and repeated a form of words, praying Siven to cause the sun to rise again next morning; and because they might have sinned against him that day, and therefore deserved chastisement, they would humble and chasten themselves. And they did it; for they pointed to their hearts; smote upon their breasts; and, especially, every one inflicted thumps enough on his back with both hands. Then they stood and bowed their heads to the ground twelve times; and finished by prostrating themselves at full length on their faces, and so continuing for a little time. There being no rest-house in the village, I passed the night in their school.

July 3.—We rose early and continued our journey through a country full of high rocks overgrown with bushes. The first village we came to was Tamaram. Hereabouts, tigers abound, and destroy many men and cattle every year. But the heathen inhabitants go on in security, each hoping that he shall escape. Eighteen days ago, a tiger had killed and sucked the blood of a man on this very road. Last night he strangled a large ox and a hog. To travel by night, is to risk one's life. Near Muritshur, a boy met us, carrying cheese for sale to Madras, the first I had ever seen made by a heathen. Probably they have recently learned to make it from the English or French. At three o'clock, we reached Karitschankal, within six miles of Kanshipuram, [Conjeveram]; to which place I intended to travel, had I not received accounts at Muritshur that dissuaded me from it. Twelve miles from Kanshipuram lies Arkadu,

[Arcot]. Here, as I was told by a Moor, there are forty Europeans serving in the Mogul's [Nabob's] army. Many of them are murderers and robbers; but the greater number are deserters, who have served for a time under all the European Companies; and not daring to return, have gone over to the Moors. There, they are circumcised and turn Mahometans; or else they live as Mahometans and heathens.

From Karitshankal, turning to the right, we proceeded to Marimangalam, a very great town. We then directed our way towards Madras. At Naruvappore, we arrived just before sun-set; and had no sooner entered the rest-house than the rain began to pour. Not being able to keep ourselves dry there, we had no alternative but to proceed. The night was cloudy; the rain was falling in torrents; and we found it exceedingly difficult to make any progress over the swamps and numerous ditches. Our feet slipped from under us; and more than once we fell. With shoes and stockings on, we should not have been able to get on at all. At last, we reached Nattam, where we passed the night in a rest-house, and had a conversation with a Pandaram. Here, the heathen pagoda is built on the peak of the rock, and can be seen far and wide. At night, they kindle a light in the tower. The next day, with God's help, we arrived at Madras.

July 19.—I sent the following books to Paleiacatta:—a Portuguese New Testament, Thomas á Kempis, a Grammar, two Sermons, The Order of Salvation, Differença da Christendade, three Summaries, and two Manuscript Sermons. To a Hollander, I sent the Dutch Bible; and to the Malabar Catechist, the larger Malabar Catechism and Communion-Book.

July 20,—The English ship, Darby, arrived, and brought the long-desired letters, goods, and books.

July 28, sixth Sunday after Trinity.—I proposed (propo-

nirte) in Malabar, in the morning, on the Gospel for the day; and at noon, on the Epistle, in German. Up to this day, I had held myself in readiness to return to Tranquebar, at the earliest opportunity. But after the receipt of the European letters, the thought occurred to me to-day, for the first time, whether it would not be well for me to remain a little longer at Madras, and attempt a Malabar School, as Mr. Magister Gruendler had done before.

July 30.—The second portion of the Malabar Bible, from Ruth to the Song of Solomon, having been printed at the Tranquebar press, I drew up a Title in Malabar and Latin for it; as well as a Title for the third part, which will contain all the Prophetical Books.

August 5.—I addressed a letter to Governor Macrae, submitting my proposal to establish a school, and requesting his opinion and advice; and on the 8th I received an answer from Mr. Secretary Pyot [Pigot?] stating that the Governor was very much pleased with it, and would render me all the assistance in his power.

August 9.—I wrote to the missionaries at Tranquebar, informing them that I proposed to remain, for a time, at Madras; but that I intended to visit and confer personally with them, and make arrangements for carrying on the various establishments at Tranquebar. On the same day, I hired a Malabar house in Black Town, so that I might live in the very midst of the heathens.

August 19.—I set out for Tranquebar, and on the 21st, arrived at Pondicherry, where there were six ships lying in the roads. The whole town was so occupied with the arrivals, that I had no opportunity of calling on any one. At Cuddalore, I was advised to proceed by sea, on account of the high tolls exacted in Tanjore.

August 25.—I arrived at Tranquebar, after an absence of six months. On the 26th, I dined with the Governor; on the 27th, I had a conference with the missionaries; on the 28th, I inspected the missionary establishments; and embarked for Cuddalore in the afternoon.

August 30th.—I visited the Governor and Mr. Burton, at Cuddalore, and re-embarking on the 31st, I arrived at Madras, September 1.

September 5th.—I had a Malabar Notice posted on the four Gates of Black Town, stating that by Order of the Governor, I intended to open a school for Malabar children. No sooner had the heathens read the Notice, than my house was visited by them, from morning till night.

September 8, Sunday: I had the first Meeting at my house, and proposed in Portuguese on the Gospel for the day.

September 12.—A learned heathen called to discourse with me on Christianity. Among the questions he proposed, were the following: God is the Supreme Good, and created all things: whence then comes Evil? Is God the cause of it?—If God did not create evil, by whom did it come into the world?—Did God create the devil?—Whence arose sin and evil in man? Did God create him evil?—Good and evil are in the world; why do not men love good and hate evil? On my explaining the corruption consequent on the Fall, he resumed:—Why is this so? Every one thought to love the good and to hate the evil.—If God shows not like grace to all, it is not the man's fault, if some cannot be good. He expressed satisfaction with my answers. I inferred that he had heretofore acquainted himself with Christianity.

September 14.—I began the Malabar School with twelve children. The schooling is free. As a further encouragement, I teach them English and Portuguese. While teaching them

that God is a Spirit, a boy said: That is true: our stone-gods are nothing; but the wooden gods in the Portuguese churches are also nothing.—One may perceive from this, how the heathens are stumbled when they see that even Christians have what they take to be images of gods. Moreover, like educated Catholics, the more instructed heathens speak of their images only as mementoes and ornaments. In both cases, the simple herd pray to the images. In truth, I know not what argument a Romish missionary can urge against the idols of the heathens, so long as the latter can retort upon the images of the former.

October 14.—Finding it impossible for me to speak individually to all the heathens who, high and low, from morning till night, come to talk to me, I appointed a particular hour in the morning for publicly expounding the Scriptures. From nine to ten, I stand at the door of my house, where all who pass by can see and hear me; and thus, I often allure those to stay who desire to hear me preach out of curiosity. I do so in hope; and because I know that the Word of God is a living seed. I invite no one, nor do I, at present, purpose to do so; but I supplicate God unceasingly to send souls to me willing to be saved.

October 16.—In Madras, the Gentoo language as well as the Malabar is much in use.—The Gentoo is the Varuga tongue, called also the Telinga.—I saw the need of learning it; and to-day, I engaged a brahmin to come for an hour daily, to instruct me in its principles. It borrows many words from the Malabar; and therefore I hope to make rapid progress.

November 5.—Besides the Malabar schoolmaster, I found it necessary to engage a brahmin to teach the children Gentoo. After this, many children attended.

November 9.—Mr. Leeke, the second English Chaplain,

called on me by direction of the Governor, and informed me that the Governor had ordered a sum of money to be paid monthly towards the expenses of my school, with this message, that—"Though not much, it would be a little help." I expressed my thanks, and promised to wait on the Governor with my dutiful acknowledgements.

November 12.—I went out with Mr. Leeke to St. Thomas's Mount. Thence, we went to the four hills. At a village near them, I had opportunity of speaking to heathens.

November 29.—I called on the Armenian Patres, and saw their Church. Their congregation does not exceed 150. The Patres are sent by their bishop, and remain only a certain number of years. The bishop resides in Persia, where they have two Colleges. According to their account, their power there is such that the Catholics can do nothing without their bishop. Before there was an English Chaplain appointed at Madras, the Armenian Patres used to baptize and marry.

December 14th.—I began to translate the Catechism into Varuga. And on the 17th, I began a translation of the New Testament.

December 22, Sunday.—Up to this time, I have attended at the English Church, on Sunday mornings. From to-day, I began to have a Malabar Service for the heathens. The number who attended the first sermon was thirteen. The Portuguese Meetings continue as before.

December 23.—A dog came so near my Varuga brahmin as almost to touch him. He begged me to keep it off, lest he should be made unclean, and compelled to wash himself with the usual ceremonies. When I asked him: Why? He replied: Am I not a brahmin and without sin? The dog is a sinner. If it touch me, I am unclean.

December 26.—On this day, a feast is annually celebrated

on St. Thomas's Mount, in commemoration of St. Thomas having inscribed the figure of a Cross with his finger on the rock. It is attended by Christians from all parts. Among them, arrived a black Pater from the Pepper-Coast. He resides only two days' journey from the Syrian bishop of the Thomas-Christians. He spoke a very broken Malabar, as they all do on that coast. He understood Syriac, or, as he called it, Soorian. It is a journey of two months to his place.

December 27th.—A short time ago, the Romish-Catholic bishop came to St. Thomé. I called on him, and took the opportunity of speaking to him respecting the Catholic Patres at Tranquebar. He has been a long time in India. He talked Portuguese to me, and promised to visit Tranquebar on new-year's day, and to examine into things. He had a Pater with him who understands Malabar thoroughly, and is so versed in it that he may be called "a Poet." He called on me on December 30, when I showed him our printed books, and especially the Malabar Bible. As might have been expected, he made light of them, and thought it was not well to cast the Word of God to the Heathens, as a pearl before swine. These were his own words.

Allusion is made in the Diary (July 30, 1726) to the Tamul Version of the Holy Scriptures, of which the following is an account. The New Testament was translated by Ziegenbalg. He commenced it October 17, 1708, and completed it March 31, 1711. To assist him in the work, he had the Original Text, the Latin, German, Danish, Portuguese, and Dutch Versions, and some Commentaries. The first part, consisting of the Gospels and Acts, was printed Sept. 25, 1714. The second part was printed July 13, 1715, in a smaller type, "because they had not paper sufficient" to print it in the larger type in which the first was executed. In 1713, he

commenced the translation of the Old Testament, and proceeded in it to the end of the Book of Judges.* Ziegenbalg died Feb. 23, 1719, at the early age of thirty-five.

In the September following, Schultze arrived in India, and then first heard of the death of his predecessor. On the 28th of April, 1720, he preached his first Malabar Sermon, and on March 18th, 1723, he began to translate the Book of Ruth. He thus describes his method of proceeding: "I take the Hebrew Bible and read a verse aloud, distinctly, and so as to understand it. If it is clear, and I find no difficulties, I repeat it to the Kanakappel, in Malabar. If he and the other Scribes find the Malabar correct, I dictate the verse. As soon as the Kanakappel has written it, he reads it to me to see if it is correct. I have also engaged one of the most learned brahmins to examine it critically. If I meet with any difficulty, I have Poli Opera Critica and the Polyglott Bible to consult; these works having been recently furnished to us by the Friends in England. I have also Luther's Translation, the English, Spanish, Italian, French, Danish, and Dutch Versions; the Latin Versions of Junius and Tremellius, and the German Pentapla." The first part of the Old Testament was printed Dec. 6, 1718; and on October 3, 1727, it was completed. The deed and the day are worthy of commemoration in the history of India.

The Royal Danish College, to the Members of which the following Letter was addressed, was founded in 1714, nine years after the establishment of the Royal Danish Mission, under the name of "Collegium de cursu Evangelii promovendo." Though differently constituted, all the members

* Dr. Buchanan says: "In the year 1719, Ziegenbalg finished the Bible in the Tamul tongue, having devoted fourteen years to the work." But this is an error.

being nominated by the King, it is not improbable that the establishment of the College was suggested by the example of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which was known abroad under the denomination of "Societas de promovenda Christi cognitione." The Society first entered into correspondence with the Danish Mission in 1710; and one of the first acts of the Danish College was to open a correspondence with the Society.

Extract from a Letter to the Honourable Mission-College, at Copenhagen, July 19, 1726.

In my Diary for 1726, I have given an account of my journey into the kingdom of the Great Mogul, for the purpose of preaching the gospel. The route I took was along the strip of country between Porto Novo and Paleiacatta. This long journey I travelled on foot; and preached in more than a hundred places. My single object was this—to make known the counsel of God to those who had hitherto never heard of Christ; and thus, that has been partially accomplished of which the Honourable College has so often and for so many years reminded us. How necessary preaching is, especially in places where the crucified Jesus has never been made known to the blind heathens, has always been acknowledged by us; and we have wished for nothing so much as to make a humble attempt at it. Every one will readily perceive that this is a grand point:—to go forth among the heathen, as far as one can, and preach redemption through Jesus Christ, to those who are in the bonds of Satan. The field on which the seed of God's Word is to be sowed is not merely within the narrow limits of Tranquebar, but throughout entire heathendom, far and wide, which the Father has given to the Son as an inheritance.

Having for the last six years and more, done nothing but

preach and catechize at Tranquebar and the adjacent villages, publicly and privately, in church and in schools, as well as sometimes on the way-side, it seemed but reasonable to impart of this abundance to others who equally stand in need of it. For God's impartial love, whose will it is that all men should be called to salvation, does not limit itself to any particular place or people, but commends itself to all men, and would bring all the heathen into the kingdom of Jesus Christ; or at least, through the preaching of the gospel, leave them without excuse. It is true that the printing-press at Tranquebar, and the tracts edited there, have hitherto, in some measure, supplied what has been wanting in going forth among the heathen, and in the oral preaching of the gospel. But still, experience teaches us that circulating books cannot, in many cases, effect the object which, with the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, the oral preaching of the Word of God, encourages to hope for. The living voice has a great advantage over private reading, especially among the heathens of the East Indies. For not to mention that scarcely one in a thousand learns to read; many of those who can read, are too careless and indifferent to take the pains necessary to understand and apply what they read. And hence it is evident how needful it is to go forth among the heathen, and declare the gospel to them by word of mouth. The first missionaries, Mr. Probst Ziegenbalg, and Mr. Magister Gruendler, have, in this, set us a good example. Oh how often have I wished, during the six years when there were so few of us, to live to see the day when I could go out among the heathen, and bear to them a gracious message from the Saviour of the world. But, besides the other claims of the mission, the occupation of translating the Bible into Malabar, which I considered of supreme necessity, prevented me. No sooner, however, did God, by the arrival of new fellow-labourers,

give me time and opportunity to carry out my long-cherished purpose, than I opened my mind to them. And God so ordered it that all circumstances concurred. There were now present four persons, sufficiently advanced in the Malabar and Portuguese languages to be able to take charge of the establishments at Tranquebar; and considering that times are fluctuating; we, men, mortal; and that God had given us this opportunity, and opened a door to the heathen; I considered it to be agreeable to the will of God that I should embrace it, and no longer defer my purpose, but cheerfully set about the work. Another result of my journey has been to revive the attention of European friends to our mission-establishments, who, since the death of the last missionaries, had received no detailed accounts of them; as well as to extend the Correspondence which, at the begining of the mission, it was found desirable to cultivate with good friends on the coast; of whom I have met with many. Besides this, I have taken the opportunity of seeking out members of our Protestant communion, and of promoting their edification.

As to my method of preaching the Gospel, I have endeavoured to conform myself to the example of our Master, the Lord Jesus. Wherever our Saviour went, he entered the schools. He preached in the roads, on the mountains, on the plains, by the sea-side, and in ships. He spoke to individuals; he taught in the midst of crowds; he embraced every opportunity of preaching to men the Kingdom of God. And this is what I have aimed to do. . . . . . .

To Professor A. H. Francke, at Halle, in Saxony.

Sept. 16, 1723.

Your honoured letters of Feb. 4, 1725, and Dec. 19, 1725, we have duly received; and it was with satisfaction I learned

that my beloved father and instructor continues well. May the Lord be your strength in weakness, and your life in approaching age!

The reasons of my journey into the Mogul's country, I have detailed in my letter to the Mission-College. Tracts on Christianity are very good; but in making known the Word of God to the heathens, preaching has a great advantage. It is a true saying: vox scripta manet; that which is written can be read again and again; but this refers to things already living in the mind, which we wish to recal. On the other hand, the living voice has something proper to itself; something awakening; something stirring; especially when the words proceed from the mouth of God, which carry with them, even now, the same power which they did when God first uttered them. When our Saviour, and, afterwards, when his disciples began to seek the lost, their method was oral instruction; because the Eternal Wisdom, Jesus Christ, well knew the nearest way to the hearts of the people. If I insist somewhat on this, it is not because I hold the distribution of books either as useless or of little importance. No, I have myself distributed them, and I do so still; it is because I set a higher value on making the Gospel known by word of mouth. Where this cannot be done, it is good to impart books to those who love them, and ask for them. But the oral declaration of the gospel is as difficult as it is needful. Almost all heathens are as dull as the brutes. You may talk to them of God or of virtue; they understand one as little as the other, and care nothing for either:—ignoti nulla cupido. Would you help these miserable people, you must first preach their polytheism out of them, and annihilate the entire catalogue of their gods, before you can bring them to the One Eternal God. Then, when they believe in the One God, it is necessary to impress

on them his attributes; to show the ruin in which men are by nature involved; to represent to them, earnestly and impressively, the necessity of recovery from such ruin; and, to commend to them the gracious means of recovery in Jesus Christ. This must be publicly and frequently preached; and, yet, if it be not privately and severally inculcated, we have not fulfilled our office. If this be not done, and if all that is accomplished is to get the poor people to repeat a short prayer by rote; or a portion of the Catechism, which they do not understand, and will soon forget; no real fruit can be expected. For the seed of the Divine Word is not sown deep in the ground, but lies upon the surface; the wind can blow it away, or the birds of hell root it up. I am well aware, as I write this, of what the Catholic Missionaries, and especially the Jesuits, boast of as to their new Christians. O how often have I sighed and wished it were true, what the Missionaries tell us in their "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses"! That they baptize many I well believe; but that they instruct and duly prepare them for baptism, is what I would gladly learn. If they succeeded so excellently in converting the souls of the heathen by exhibiting, as they do, an image of Mary, and a figure on a wooden cross, they would indeed be lucky Missionaries, to whom it would not be so difficult and toilsome to convert thousands, as it is to us to turn one soul by the living Word of God. But our Saviour has said: Go into all the world and *teach* all nations. (Matt. xxviii. 19.) Teaching is the first and chief thing. If instruction does its proper work, then follows baptism. I will not censure any one's care and diligence; still less will I take on myself to disparage the care others have taken for the conversion of the poor heathen; but will rather wish that many thousands may turn from the heart to the living God, and be brought to him through

Christ. Not long since, when a Catholic Missionary was asked how many heathens they had converted at his place, his answer was: Not one. And in a conversation I had with a German Missionary from China, he admitted that the conversion of heathens is not so easy a matter as some are wont to boast of. But I see well how these opposite statements of Catholic Missionaries are to be reconciled. They who boast of their great success, look only at the number they baptise; the others look more at what is implied in real conversion.

From my Diary it may be readily perceived what I preached. But let no one suppose that I said no more than I have written. Mr. Ziegenbalg indeed recorded his conversations, word for word,* and to many, I am aware, this afforded great interest. But there were many things to prevent my following his example. For the time I remained at the oftentimes wretched places where I put up, unprovided with a seat or a table, was too short for such a purpose; and if I had employed the night in the work, as I sometimes attempted to do, I often had no light; or the strong current of wind in these open halls extinguished it. Besides, after walking on foot—often bare-foot, on account of the broad rivers—it would have been more than even a strong man could endure in this hot climate, to pass the night without rest and sleep. Lastly, the record of such conversations would have involved repetitions of what has already been printed; for though the phrase may vary, the truths are the same; and the heathens meet you with the same questions and objections they addressed to Mr. Ziegenbalg.

Before I quit this subject, I will briefly relate what happened to me in a recent journey of three days into the

* A selection from Ziegenbalg's Conversations was published in English, under the title of "Conferences with Malabarian Brahmins." London, 1719. They are rather formal arguments against Brahminical and Mahometan error, than conversations.

Mogul's country, which I made from Madras. It cost me a fortnight's illness, and confinement to my bed, before the effects of the exposure to the sun could be subdued. In other journeys, I had the advantage of rest-houses; but this not being a high road, I met with none. I was dozing under a tree, after speaking to the people in the neighbouring village, when the headman, a Moor, learned that a White had arrived; and, supposing me to be a deserter from Madras, he came with two men to apprehend me. He asked my people who I was, and where I was going. They told him I was no deserter, but a traveller going to Kanshipuram [Conjeveram.] This answer pacified him; and he even cautioned my people that as soon as I got there, they would conduct me as a prisoner to Arkadu [Arcot],—orders having been given to apprehend all Whites travelling without a pass. We had got a good way on the road before our people told me this. We then sat down under a tree, and considered what was best to be done. To proceed to Kanshipuram and rashly expose myself to danger, was unadvisable; especially as, after all, I might find no opportunity of speaking. When the Moors get hold of a Missionary, they immediately put him in prison; if he can pay a large sum of money, he may succeed in gaining his liberty; if not, it costs him his life—as a recent example has shown. To continue my story: we got up, and though the sun scorched us, we hastened on our way, and at night, got to Naravvapore, where we had no sooner entered a stable, than the rain began to pour. Finding that we could not keep ourselves dry, nor obtain any food, we were compelled to travel on. It was now dark; the path deep in mire, and scarcely a foot wide; the rain pouring down; we strangers to that part of the country. To our joy, a heathen overtook us, journeying to Nattam, otherwise we might have wandered in

the swamps all night. It was impossible to get on with shoes and stockings, so I was obliged to walk bare-foot. My feet were cut and bleeding; and in springing over the ditches, I sprained my right foot. This was one of the most disagreeable journeys I ever made. During those three days we walked forty-eight miles. ....

The following Letter is addressed to the Founder of the first Protestant Mission in the East Indies. Frederick IV. of Denmark, formed the resolution while Crown-Prince, and nobly fulfilled it after his elevation to the throne, in 1699. He took measures to place the selection of Missionaries in the hands of competent and trustworthy men; charged the revenue with a fixed sum for their maintenance; upheld them against the hostility of the Governor of Tranquebar, (who placed Ziegenbalg under arrest, and otherwise thwarted the Mission); corresponded with them; had their communications regularly read to him, and took pleasure in conversing about the Mission; and even when present at the siege of Stralsund in Pomerania, (for his long reign of thirty-one years was checquered by vicissitudes,—pestilence,—the destruction of his Capital by fire,—and fierce wars with Sweden and the celebrated Charles XII,) he found leisure, in camp, to receive and confer with Ziegenbalg on the affairs of the Mission, and to welcome Peter Maleiappen, a Tamul school-boy, whom he had brought to Europe with him. Nor must the impression made on the mind of Frederick by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge be forgotten in a work like this. "Moved," says the historian of the Mission, "by the praiseworthy zeal of the Anglican Society,"* he devoted a further sum of two

* "Laudabili Societatis Anglicanæ zelo motus, &c." Niecampii Historia Missionis. Pars ii. cap. ix.

hundred rix-dollars to the work; and when it was lost by shipwreck, he ordered the grant to be made good.

From a Letter of Mr. Missionary Schultze to His Majesty Frederick IV. king of Denmark, Sept. 17, 1726.

May it please your Majesty graciously to receive these humble lines. They bring the joyful tidings that on the Coast of Coromandel, in the East Indies, the spread of the Gospel, from year to year, is perceptibly increased. During the last year, the Version of the entire Bible into the Malabar language was brought to completion; and the heathen schools* in the Tranquebar district, were placed under the supervision of the Mission. Nor is there less cause to praise the living God for His great benefits during the present year. How it proceeds with the Mission at Tranquebar, the other fellow-labourers in the work will report; my letter will refer to what has taken place out of Tranquebar, by which the Protestant Mission is both more legitimated and extended. During the summer, I made a journey into the country of the Great Mogul; and betweenPorto Novo and Paleiacatta, I preached the Gospel to the poor heathens, in more than a hundred places. O with what joy did the heathens listen to me in some of the villages! with whom I left this word as an encouragement, that now, God will have compassion on them, and soon send them teachers after His own heart. The second instance of the extension of the Royal Danish Mission, is that the good hand of God is opening a door to the heathen into Christ's kingdom

* The heathens within the Tranquebar Settlement were required by the Danish Governor, under an Edict published March 16, 1725, to send their children to school to learn to read, write, and cypher; and not to let them idle in the streets. The indirect (not undesigned) effect of this Edict was that seventeen heathen schools came under the Danish Mission! where they read the New Testament, learned texts and the Catechism. The inducement was that the instruction was gratuitous.

of grace, at Madras, in the English territory. I have made a beginning with a Malabar School, not doubting that the great God will govern and carry on His work. To Him be glory to all eternity! May He rejoice your Majesty with this intelligence, from which you find that your plans, cares, foresight, and expenditure for the sake of the poor heathen, are, from year to year, realizing the desired results.

Notes and Observations by Mr. Schultze, annexed to his Diary of 1726.

1. There are four Greek merchants at Madras. They understand and speak the common Greek, and like the New Testament in that language; the ancient Greek they do not understand.

2. The Friends in England sent us at Tranquebar, a Clock,* which goes a whole month, and the door of which is overlaid with a mirror. It happened that the gardener brought in some vegetables from Tiliali, which he was depositing on the table; when, on looking to the right, he perceives in the glass another man with a basket, who, when he touches the basket, does so too: and when he takes his hands off the table, does the same. The man is so astonished that he hastens from the room. At the door, he meets my boy, and asks what gardener it was I had besides him. The boy replied: He hasn't got any other gardener. The man said: Why, I saw him with my own eyes. At last, the boy found how it was, and told him that he must have seen himself in the glass. He then brought him to my room, and the error was explained. Another time, the schoolmaster of the street-school brought in his report. He takes his stand immediately opposite the

* The Clock was a present to the Mission from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

mirror. He was in the middle of what he had to say, and was pointing to something with his hand, when he notices with great alarm that a man is standing before him, and holding his fist at him, and threatening him. The poor man was so disturbed, that he broke out into a sweat. As soon as he had finished, he went out of the room into the fore-part of the house, and asked the Canakappel [Scribe], what man it was whom I had shut up in the room, in the little house? The Canakappel, who knew that there was no man with me, and that I had shut up no one in my chamber, soon perceived what was the matter, and that the man had seen himself in the glass. They both came back to me, and the affrighted man was pacified.

3. For a considerable time past, many Catholic Patres have been going round the country, eleven of whom arrived at Negapatam, last year, together. A Catholic merchant related to me what follows. In Portugal, as in other places, there are many profligate persons who are condemned to long imprisonment for their crimes. Every year, they are sent by the ships to India, especially to Goa; often to the number of sixty or a hundred. The Catholic Patres go on board these ships, and offer the prisoners their liberty, on condition that they enter their Order. They accept their liberty with joy, and are brought to the Colleges, and taught a little Latin in the course of a couple of years, so as to read Mass; after which, on the first opportunity, they are sent away from Goa. Now, it is very easy to imagine how it will turn out with most of them. So long as they remain at Goa, they are kept under discipline and supervision; but when they get their liberty, they go on in their old courses, and occasion great scandal. This method of making missionaries is now said to be abandoned.

4. Every year, ships go from Madras to Judæa. Such is the name, seamen give to the place where the children of Israel crossed the Red Sea, when they came out of Egypt. There are opportunities also of travelling to Arabia, Egypt, Judæa, and Ethiopia. The Armenians of this place are well aware that Catholics dare not go to Ethiopia. A few years ago, two of them were seized; and when they hesitated to curse Pope Leo, were stoned. No nation is free to enter their land, except Armenian Christians. And even if a Protestant were to say: I am no papist,—he would not be credited, because they regard all Europeans as Catholics. An Armenian whom I know, has been in Ethiopia, and transacted business with the Emperor, as well as exchanged letters with him. He writes this year to the Emperor, and he requested me to compose the letter in the Ethiopic language; but not being perfect in it, I excused myself. He therefore writes in Arabic, a language understood and in use in Ethiopia.

EXTRACT FROM MR. MISSIONARY SCHULTZE'S DIARY FOR 1857.

Jan. 2.—I began to translate John iii. into Varuga. And here I will give a short account of the language, and the circumstances that led me to the study of it. At first, I had no thought, much less any desire to learn more languages; certainly not Varuga. Hence, I had been some time at Madras, before I troubled myself about it. But no sooner had I begun the School, than it appeared that I might find readier access to the Varugas, than to the Malabars. Had I opened a Varuga school, and been unable to catechize and examine the children myself, little benefit would have resulted. It happened too that the Governor, on one occasion, asked me if I had no Varuga children in my school. This set me thinking; and I concluded he would be glad if they could

attend. Some time after, I learned that one of the English Chaplains was studying Varuga. During one of my visits, he showed me the Characters, and some words; but complained that he found it very difficult, because the brahmin who instructed him, understood so little English. I found that the words which were so difficult to him, I already knew the meaning of, through the Malabar. A desire therefore sprung up in my mind to investigate the nature of the language; and I engaged a brahmin, a native Varuga, who understood a little Malabar, to call upon me. I found that of more than a hundred words that I asked him about, I understood nearly all; and that there was nothing to occasion me trouble, except to read their writing; to understand the declensions and conjugations; and to master the genius of the language. I had no further hesitation about learning it, for the benefit of the Varugas; and commenced immediately. In a few days, aided by my knowledge of the Malabar, I was able to help the English Chaplain. He however changed over to the study of Malabar; in which, with my assistance, he is now so far advanced as to be able to talk to his servant. He has already read with me a great part of the Malabar Testament.

As to the relation of the Varuga to the Malabar language, it appears to be much the same as if a German should learn Danish. Let him but notice how the Danish words are clipped-off, and that most of them are pure low German; and, then, he will not have to learn many Danish words. So with the Varuga. It describes things tersely and neatly in short abbreviated words. The construction is similar; except that the terminations differ; and the Varuga has particles peculiar to itself. Still, we are not to suppose that a Varuga can immediately understand Malabar, or vice-versa; experience shows the contrary.

Jan. 3.—A heathen festival is celebrated on the second and third of this month, in commemoration of Vishnu, in the form of half-man and half-lion, having slain the proud giant, Iranyen. It would almost seem as if the heathen had heard of Christ's Incarnation; and that in this, there is a reference to his divine and human nature, the giant being the devil, whose works the Son of God came to destroy. Baldæus, in his time, made the same remark. Let it take its place as a conjecture.*

January 17.—Last night, I was pressed to accompany an Armenian to their Church, it being their Christmas. They passed from two o'clock till five in the morning, in many ceremonies; and read several chapters, some from the Old, and some from the New Testament. The hymns and melodies sounded well, and were sung with some animation. They also represented the baptism of Christ. The superior minister consecrated the water by dipping a crucifix in it; the water being afterwards divided, with great solemnity, and stored in vessels for use.

Jan. 20.—Mr. Leeke accompanied me in a short excursion into the Mogul's land. I spoke in two places.

Feb. 8.—Last evening, I went with Mr. Leeke to Great St. Thomas's Mount. It is not on the English Ground, but nearly eight miles from Madras, toward Pondicherry, only more landward. I had been often told that on this hill, there is to be seen a figure of a Cross in stone, of which the Catholics (as there manner is) affirm that the holy Thomas inscribed it miraculously with his finger; and that around it, there is an

* Others have held the same opinion, "There are strong lines in the religious systems of the East which constantly recal one's thoughts to the doctrines of revelation, and seem to point to a common origin."—Dr. C. Buchanan. He instances the *Incarnation*, the Trinity, and the Atonement.

Inscription which no man here can read or understand. Though believing nothing of what the Catholics imagine as to the Cross, I was very curious to see the Inscription. But though they are always forward and willing enough to exhibit their pretended miracles, I encountered a refusal. It was now eight o'clock in the morning, and I had already waited a long time, when a Pater sent me this answer, in writing: Mi Domine, Non possumus semper aperire, sed solum de licentia Illmi et Rmi D. Epi.—It is a great untruth that the bishop at Maleiappore or St. Thomé, must, each time, give permission. As I descended the hill, I had a conversation with a Catholic Catechist. He mistook me for an Englishman, and would talk of nothing but the Holy Virgin Mary, their highest goddess; and of Peter, the first pope. Thus are the poor heathens perverted; and only fortified by the missionaries in such things as prevent their receiving any truth of God from us.

In returning about noon to Madras, we came to a field where oxen were treading out the grain. They know nothing of threshing; but the oxen tread the ears and straw together, till the grain drops out. The straw is crushed to bits, and is of no further use except for fodder. Such was the custom in the promised land: (Deut. xxv. 4). Farther on, we encountered a beggar, with a mat full of thorns and prickles, on which, he gave out that he laid every night, quite naked. When I questioned him before the by-standers, it came out that his penance was only a pretence to move compassion. I seized the opportunity of saying something useful to the people; and prevailed on the mendicant to give me his prickly bed, which I carried away with me. I had not gone far, however, before some of the people, with the beggar, overtook me, and begged me to give the poor man his mat again, as he

could not get his living without it. I did so, and we went on our way.

Feb. 15.—By the Governor's order, I received thirty-one dollars, being a quarterly allowance towards the Schools.

Feb. 25th, and again Feb. 27, I went with Mr. Leeke to speak to the heathens.

Feb. 28.—On our return from St. Thomé, we came upon a garden of their deities, in which were a brahmin and a young woman. The latter was alternately throwing her head back, and then bringing it forward till her forehead struck the ground; while the brahmin kept ringing a little bell. Mr. Leeke was astonished, having never seen such a thing before, and begged me to speak to them. On my earnestly addressing the young woman and her mother, the pretended exorcist hurried away, and the woman got up and hastened into the pagoda. The woman appeared to be ill; but it is a common imagination of the heathens that they are possessed by a devil; and a profitable chance for the brahmins when they cure them. They even go so far as to account such pretended possessions, as a great grace from their Swami.

April 5th.—I began a translation of the Order of Salvation, and finished it on the 8th.

April 14th.—The foolish people here talk a great deal of a sugar-sea and a milk-sea. One day, a Malabar, who speaks Varuga, English, and Portuguese, was talking very fluently about these seas, when I asked him: "Where are they situated?" He said: "Who can know? the world is wide." At last, he thought they were where the sun rises.

April 17th.—The first English ship arrived. By it, we received a letter from Mr. Secretary Newman, dated Nov. 26.

April 29.—I completed a Varuga version of The Way of Salvation.

May 4, Sunday, Jubilate: Mr. Leeke called to take leave on occasion of my setting out to-morrow to Paleiacatta, to preach to the heathens on my journey, and pay a visit to the Protestant Christians at that place. I returned to Madras, May 10.

May 30.—I finished a translation of the Gospels into Varuga.

June 19th.—I completed a Varuga version of "The Chief Points of Christian Doctrine."

June 21.—Two Pastors of the Catholic Church called on me. They asked me to read to them part of the Evangelist Matthew. They knew the names of the four Evangelists; but had never heard of the New Testament.

July 27.—I took leave of the Governor, and bade farewell to Mr. Leeke, prior to my taking another journey to preach to the heathen. Mr. Leeke kindly offered to take charge of the Mission in my absence.

July 28.—I started from Madras at six o'clock in the morning, and directed my way through places where the sound of the gospel had probably never been heard. As soon as I reached Great St. Thomas's Mount, my people, who were heathens, refused to acompany me any further, because none of them had ever travelled by the road I took, and they were in dread of tigers. However, I persuaded them at last to go. We came first to Pallapuram. Here I visited the school. Thence I ascended the high hill to view the country, where I counted nearly thirty lofty rocks, round about, some a mile, some above four miles, but most of them about two miles distant. On nearly all the hills there were villages. I thought: This is the land of the Gentiles, the heritage which the Heavenly Father has given to our Lord Jesus Christ. Ah! when will He take possession of it? When will the heathen become His subjects?—At Ottijam-

packam, a small village of only five houses, I addressed several, especially a woman. She knew nothing of a pagoda, nor of brahmins, nor God, nor salvation. She even said that she would have no salvation; it would be of no use to her. I said: If you will not ask for Salvation, you will go to hell. She replied: That may be: she did not ask for it.—Such are many heathens, They neither inquire after heaven, nor are they afraid of hell. What shall we preach to such people? We must seek first to give them a *feeling*. Their misery arises from their ignorance, whereby they are held bound by the devil. I brought her, at last, to listen attentively to what I said. I passed the night in the open street.

July 29.—At dawn, we travelled on, passed Sirusheri, and reached Cattampuli. At Pudupackam, I expostulated with a brahmin for worshipping a stone-god. He replied: "We are poor people; you, Europeans, can make your gods of gold and silver, because you are rich." This is the third time I have received a similar answer. This brahmin spoke Malabar, Varuga, and Canarese. Thence we proceeded to Teijur, and Tripulore. The people of whom I enquired the road dissuaded me from going farther inland, saying that, in this dry season, we might not only go a day's journey without finding a well or a tank; but that, at such times, the tigers rush out of the deep jungle as if they were mad. So we pursued the usual road to Cuddalore.

July 31.—We arrived at Connimoru, and put up at the Hollanders' Lodge.

Aug. 1.—We reached Cuddalore, where I remained till the 18th, when I set out on my return to Madras. At six, p.m., we reached Vardaur-cottei, where it began to rain; so we turned into a rest-house for the night. There sat a brahmin, who represented himself as a toll-receiver, and as being in the service of the Moors. I began to speak to him; others col-

lected round. He put several questions to me relative to Christianity, not as if he did not know the answers, but as if to try me. He had probably seen no other Christians than the Catholics of Pondicherry. Me he took for an Englishman, as I was travelling from Cuddalore to Madras. To my position that God is a Spirit, he objected: If God is a spirit, why do you have gods of wood or gold in your churches?—It happened that there was a wedding-feast, and the people, with drums and pipes, carried-by many horses made of clay, and dressed out. I turned to him and said: Are these your Gods? He replied: Yes: but with a hard and embittered heart.

Aug. 22.—I arrived at Madras, and called on Mr. Leeke, where I found European letters. In the afternoon I called on Mr. Turner, the Seconde, who handed me all the European letters. Among them, were one from the king of England, one from Princess Charlotte Amelia of Denmark, and one from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [Dr. Wake].

Nov. 3.—I finished the translation of the New Testament into Varuga, and on the 5th, engaged in a revision of it. On the 15th I began to translate the Old Testament.

Dec. 31.—I will here briefly mention my course of labours. On Sunday, I catechize the heathen children; after this is over, I propose in Malabar; and now, in Varuga also. At noon, I am expected to wait on the Governor. From six to half-past, I have Portuguese Service. On week-days, I catechize the Varuga children every morning. I then apply myself to translating till twelve. In the afternoon, I read Varuga books, or write letters to Indian correspondents. During the present year, besides my three-fold Correspondence with Halle, Denmark, and England, I have written ninety-nine letters, in different languages, to friends in India.

In the preceding Diary, (Aug. 22, 1727) Mr. Schultze

mentions the receipt of a letter from the King of England. In 1717, George I. had addressed a letter to Ziegenbalg and Gruendler; and he admitted Ziegenbalg in 1716, and subsequently, other Missionaries, to an audience.* Before the following letter reached Madras, the Royal Correspondent was no more. George I. died at Osnaburgh, on the 11th of June, 1727. The following is a version of the Letter; the original is in German.

"Beloved, Devoted, and Excellent,

"From your letters, dated Tranquebar, September 12, 1725, lately delivered to us, we have derived much satisfaction, in learning from them the delight you take in carrying on the Mission-Work entrusted to you, and its increasing prosperity under the Divine Blessing. We thank you for the intelligence, and shall be glad to receive further accounts. Meanwhile, we wish you perfect health, both of body and mind, to establish the good work for a long time to come, to the glory of God, and the extension of Christianity among the heathen, that it may be perpetuated to future generations.

"Given at our Palace at St. James's,
Feb. 24, 1727, in the thirteenth year of our Reign." "GEORGE R."

The same year was marked by the death of the elder professor Francke, who expired on the 8th of June, 1727, three days before the demise of George I. The relation of Francke to the Mission was voluntary, and never official. At the period when the Danish Mission was founded, Halle was the most celebrated School of Divinity on the Continent, especially of practical Divinity; and the elder Francke had chiefly contributed to make it so. To him, Frederic IV. applied to select Missionaries, an example in which he was afterwards

* George I. was also a considerable donor to the Mission.

followed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and thus it came to pass that the Missionaries employed both in the Danish and English Missions, were chosen by Francke and his successors, and were educated at the University of Halle, "in feracissimo illo bonorum doctorumque Collegio."*

Francke was a Corresponding Member of the English Society; and the letters of Archbishop Wake, the President of the Society, indicate the earnest character of the correspondence. Niecamp commemorates the concern felt by the English Society at the death of Ziegenbalg, and their solicitations to Abp. Wake to write to Francke, "verbis exquisitis," on the necessity of sending more labourers. Passages from three of these letters, he has incorporated in his History. In all, the subject is the same—The Archbishop, after pathetically referring to Ziegenbalg,† pleads with Francke to send others of his disciples.‡

* Archbishop Wake's Letter to Schultze.

† Archbishop Wake succeeded Tenison in 1715; and in Jan. or Feb. 1716, Ziegenbalg was presented to him, prior to his second embarkation for India.

‡ Tu vero alios e tot tuis discipulis selige, qui etiam horum mortalitati subveniant" (1721.)—The following is from the last, (July, 1724):—"Horum jam præcipuus, Beniaminus Schulzius, egregiam illic operam navat; plurimosque in dies ad salutem per Christum consequendam pertrahit. Sed heu dura mortalitatis lex! Obiit Ziegenbalgius, præcipuus hujus missionis dux et pater. Obiit Grundlerus, socius ipsius individuus. Solus fere relinquitur optimus Schulzius qui tanto operi præesse par sit. Adeo messis magna est et operarii pauci. Sentis quo tendat hæc mea querimonia, quam in sinum tuum dolens effundo; et jamjam percipis me aliquot a te petere pios atque prudentes juvenes ad hoc ministerium obeundum idoneos, quos per proximam nostram classem Indicam ad Schulzium sublevandum mittamus, in eodem munere evangelii prædicandi ipsi adjungendos. Immo peto instanter a te, peto hoc plane necessarium auxilium; mecumque petit veneranda illa, cui indignus præsideo, ad propagandam fidem ad extremas usque partes orbis terrarum instituta Societas; petunt hoc idem pauci qui restant Indorum apostoli,

The selection of Missionaries was not the only service rendered by Francke to the Missions. He kept up a constant and fatherly correspondence with the Missionaries, and they with him; he published periodical accounts of the Mission, and thus maintained the interest felt in it in Europe; he supplied printing presses, and other necessary aids (in which he was nobly seconded by the English Society); and the large additional sums necessary to carry on the Mission were collected and remitted by him.

Of his Letters to the Missionaries, only a fragment survives, which owes its preservation to its being inserted in a Diary of the Missionaries, published after his decease. It was addressed to some new Missionaries then (1725) in England, on their way to the East, and is interesting as having been written when he was approaching the end of his course.

"......All is summed up in this—that as the hand of the living God has been continually with you hitherto, so now, in the strength given to you, you should with childlike confidence and manly boldness, fix your whole trust on the living and majestic God, the Governor of the whole earth; and on the faithful love of your Chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ; and in such faith, receive out of His fulness, grace for grace, and the most precious and inestimable gift of the Holy Spirit; which is more needful to you, and in larger measure now, than it ever was in your whole lives, that you may fully run your course, and fulfil your office. And for this reason, it is my highest and most earnest wish, and the centre of all my prayers for you, that the Lord may baptize you with such a

quique in eodem opere indesinenter laborant; petunt novi catechumeni, eorum opera ad ecclesiam additi; ipse denique Dominus atque Salvator noster, Jesus Christus, hoc non tam a te petit, quam pro jure suo postulat, requirit, efflagitat; nec in hac re repulsam feret."

baptism of His Spirit, and anoint you with such an Anointing as may be necessary for you under all circumstances. There are many people, pious and useful enough in their way; but they have no true fire in them—no truly awakened spirit in preaching the Gospel of Christ—no true fervour, hunger and thirst, to bring souls to Christ; they are not earnest enough in prayer to grow stronger in spirit themselves, and to wrestle with God for a blessing on the souls of others. They are well enough as sheep, but have not the properties of good shepherds of the sheep...... The Lord give you understanding in all things, and the true evangelistic and apostolic spirit."

Of the earnest view he took of Missions to the heathen, a passage from one of Ziegenbalg's earliest Letters from Tranquebar, affords a remarkable instance: "I often think" says Ziegenbalg, "of the words you spoke to me, after I resolved to go to a foreign land, but was kept back by my illness:—'If but one soul among such people is truly brought to God, it is as much as if a hundred were gained over in Europe; because these daily have ample means and opportunity for their conversion, which heathens want.'"

Another of his sayings, is referred to by the younger Francke, who succeeded to the care of the Mission. "There were some who thought, after the departure of my blessed father, that benefactors would be slow in affording their support, from an apprehension that the work would be brought to stand. Under these and similar thoughts, which spring from unbelief, and from looking to man more than to the living God, I have often called to mind what the blessed man said a few weeks before his end, when some one was expressing sorrow on account of his approaching departure: "If" said he, "a household servant dies, the household is not therefore

broken up; much less, will God break up His household, if I should die, or suffer his work on the earth to stop."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Missionary Schultze, to Professor A. H. Francke, Dec. 9, 1727.

I have read the French Letters of the Catholic Mission.* They contain many good observations and notices; and may excite surprise in many, at the large number of the baptized; but impartial readers will find much to blame. Such is the opinion of many of the Catholics themselves. Of the numbers baptized, much is said; of their due preparation for baptism, nothing; and yet that is the principal point. We read, here and there, in the Letters, of Missionaries who baptized so many thousands: but whether all those who were grown up were first *taught*, according to Christ's command—'Go and *teach*;' and whether the Missionaries baptized them, or their catechists, barbers, and Doctors of Medicine lent their aid, is a question. If I enquire what the Missionaries teach and preach, I can hear of nothing. Their catechists go round and persuade simple people, and then bring them to the Missionary. So is the whole conversion-work finished, without the catechumens knowing much of God and Jesus Christ. Grant that they baptize many thousands. How does it happen? I have received many accounts which make me and others scrupulous as to how they go to work in their baptisms so as every year to send accounts to Europe of many thousands baptized. If the poor Indians hear Latin Mass, it satisfies them. They not only baptize heathen children clandestinely, when, as in China, they are exposed, and either soon die, or are taken away by

* Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères par quelques Missionaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Paris, 1717—1776, (32 Recueils.)—They contain references to the Tranquebar Mission; and the earlier Recueils must have been recently published when Schultze wrote.

other heathens;* but they go as far as this, that when catechists or doctors visit the sick, be they Moors or heathens, rich or poor, they watch for an opportunity to baptize them clandestinely. Some years ago, a Doctor of Medicine died at Madras. He was a Catholic; and on his sick and dying bed, related in the presence of some good friends of mine, how many people he had baptized. He was attached to the Mogul's [Nabob's] Court, and resided a long time at Arcot. What he said was this: that he always contrived without attracting notice, to bring water with him when he attended his patients; and when no one else was by, he first explained to them, that what he was going to do was part of his treatment; and then, he thrice sprinkled water on the head of the sick person; secretly pronounced over the patient the name of God; and thus baptized him unnoticed:—that it sometimes happened while he was doing it, Moors or heathens entered; and when it became known, he found himself in such danger that he was obliged to leave the place. He further said that he could not always manage to sprinkle the water on the patient's head; and that, then, he dropped it thrice on his feet, and pronounced the words of consecration; but only mentally, so that no one could observe it. That even so, he incurred risk; for the patient felt it, and others enquired the reason. He further said that the Missionaries persuaded him to do it, representing what a Christian work it would be if he, in their stead, when they could not get access to the people, should help to further the work of regeneration and entrance into the church of God. From this it may be inferred how the Missionaries may baptize so many thousands in one year. It is certain that they reckon and report to Europe all those whom the doctor thus baptized.†

* Recueil vi. p. 80; Rec. x. pp. 391, 412; Rec. xv. p. 86; Rec. xx. p. 72.

† "Les Catechistes et les Chrêtiens sont parfaitement instruits de la formule du bâtême, et ils le conferent aux enfans moribunds, sous pretexte

From a Letter of Mr. Missionary Schultze to Professor A. H. Francke, Dec. 13, 1727.

It is known that the heathens of India, for the most part, believe in one God. That, besides God, they venerate and pray to so many little inferior deities, arises from several causes. Among the properties of God, they especially recognize His omnipresence. But they draw this inference therefrom, that God, the world, nature, and all creatures are one being; and thus confound the Creator with the created, and say: Since God is everywhere present, he is present in this stone, tree, animal, wood, and pagoda; and in worshipping them, we worship God himself. With this one false argument, they justify their idolatry. Last year, I had a long discussion with a very learned Pandaram at Cuddalore. He objected: "God is a spirit; he is everywhere present; he is present in every man; what did I mean when I said: Our souls must turn to God." Again: "If the soul, in which God already is, turns itself to God, what results therefrom?"—These poor people know not the corruption and aversion of the soul from God, their highest Good; and therefore they cannot speak otherwise.

In the next place, these heathens hold the wonderful doctrine of their metempsychosis—that a soul, when it dies, migrates into another body; and that a soul must inhabit several bodies, before it can attain quiet and rest. The heathens, especially the religieuses among them, never eat flesh. Whether they have learned this from ancient times;

de leur donner des remedes."—Recueil xii. p. 115. "Une Chrêtienne, que sa condition rend sujette à des corvées, journaliers dans la maison d'un Regule, ou il y a quantité d'esclaves, a conferé cette annee (1728) le bâtême a treize enfans moribonds. Un de ses artifices est de porter toujours sur elle, du cotton bien imbibè d'eau, et de repandre furtivement quelques gouttes de cette eau salutaire sur la tète des enfans."—Recueil xx. p. 51.

or whether they refrain from flesh lest, when they eat fowls, swine, goats, or fish, they might have their deceased father or mother brought to table, I cannot determine. For since they believe in the metempsychosis, they certainly believe that the soul of their father or mother has passed into another body. Whether it has migrated into a cow, or dog, or cat, or bird, or fish, they cannot, for certain, say; but according to their superstition, they conclude that whatever creatures attach themselves to them,—be it dog, cat, crow, or hawk,—in these, the souls of their relatives abide, and still know and love them.

Four years ago, a Captain of a brigantine ran the risk of his life, through the doctrine of metempsychosis. When I first heard the relation, I treated it as a fable; till a chief mate, who had the account from the brigantine's people, confirmed it to me as a fact, and mentioned the name of the Captain to whom it occurred. The story is as follows. Captain ——, who had gone in his brigantine from Madras to Mergim [Mergui], was ready to sail, and had got his cargo on board, when, two or three days before the time fixed for his departure, he went on the strand, to shoot birds. Near the shore, he perceives a large bird; fires, and shoots it dead. Not far off, a man was at work on his land, and the bird had kept constantly near him. No sooner had the Captain hit the bird, than the man dropped what he had in his hand, and hastened into the town. The Captain thought no more about it. Presently, a strong guard comes up, and arrests him. He is loaded with chains, and imprisoned; his ship is confiscated; and his sentence is,—he must die. The good man is uncommonly disturbed and alarmed, and enquires what he had done to be so treated—he had only shot a bird. The answer he received was: that it was quite sufficient that he himself admitted he

had killed a bird. All they wanted to know was whether he had shot a bird or not?

The poor man was in an agony; and expected them to come every minute and lead him away to execution; and so it would have been, had not God brought deliverance. While the execution of the sentence was delayed a day or two, a Moor heard of the case, and pitied the man. Well knowing the foolish opinion of the heathens about their metempsychosis, he sought opportunity to advise the Captain, who perhaps had never heard of the doctrine, or never suspected what the boor had said. The Moor comes to the Captain in prison, and says: If the Captain would give him two hundred Rix-dollars, he would save his life; and get his ship, crew, and lading all restored to him. The Captain willingly accepts the condition, as he would have done, if it had been for a higher sum. The Moor then informs him of the whole case, and that it had all arisen out of the metempsychosis. He advises him, if he would save his life, to say what he suggests: otherwise, no reasoning, petition, nor representation, could avail with the heathens of the place, and he must die.

When the time came, and the Captain was on the point of being executed, they asked him again: If it were true that he shot the bird? He answered, as the Moor had instructed him: Yes: and he had the highest reason for having done so. "Some time ago, my father died, and I cast him into the sea, when his soul entered into a fish; and when I was walking on the strand, the day before yesterday, my father in the fish, saw me, and sprang out of the water close to the shore. Then came the boor's father, who is now a bird, and swallowed my father; upon which I could do no other than be angry, and take revenge on account of my father. I took aim at the boor's father, the bird, and shot him dead, because he had

swallowed my father." No sooner had the chief at Mergim, with his Council, heard this, than they acquitted the Captain, and said: He could not have done otherwise; for it was plain that the Captain could not endure that the boor's father should swallow his father.—And so the Captain was immediately declared innocent; his chains were taken off, his people released, and his ship and lading delivered up to him.

And this reminds me of the dissatisfaction evinced by the heathens at Tranquebar, when a European shoots a certain bird, called Perumal;* but as they have no power there, all they can do is to implore you not to hurt the poor bird which their god rides on. If any one should venture to kill this bird in a place where they have power, it would fare no better with him than with the Captain.

That the bird should keep near the boor, when he was turning up the earth, is not surprising. Such birds are extremely common; and when hungry, they alight wherever a man happens to be, to pick up anything. When I fished the tank at Tranquebar more than one hundred Perumals assembled to steal the fish. No sooner did one spring to the surface, than down flew the Perumals and seized it. I had a musquet fired several times to scare them; but though they were alarmed and fled, they soon returned. Just so is it with crows and ravens, who are much more fearless here than in Europe. They even come and take meat out of the plates, while people are eating. In Bengal, a crow actually made a dart at the meat a sailor was eating while pacing the deck; but missing the flesh, flew away with his knife.

From a Letter of Mr. Schultze to Professor John Henry Michaelis, at Halle, Jan. 26, 1728.

* A kind of heron.

Some years ago, a good friend in Denmark requested some account of the Moors in India. I proposed certain questions to the chief Levvi at Tranquebar, and received the annexed replies.

With this letter, I send a fac-simile of the Cross on St. Thomas's Mount. The letters around it are known to no one here. For five days consecutively, I sent this Inscription round the town, and submitted it to natives of various countries and languages, to ascertain if any person were acquainted with the language in which it is written, or could read it. There was not a single person who could say that such a language exists in India. This suggested to me that, after all, it might be "a pious fraud" invented to beguile simple people, and to encourage pilgrimages to it. After an investigation of all the circumstances, I am fully convinced that the whole account of this Cross is a fiction.

A very learned Varuga brahmin, above seventy years of age, lent me, at my request, a book in the Varuga language containing the names of all the kings who have ruled this country from the beginning of the world. I begged him to refer to the kings Schoren, Pandijen, and Scheren; and to tell me how many years had elapsed since their reigns to the present year. Schoren lived and reigned 2440 years ago; Pandijen, 2390 years; and Scheren 1054 years ago. Assuming this reckoning to be perhaps correct, St. Thomas was not in the world. How then can he have converted these kings? Schoren and Pandijen lived long before; Scheren, long after the birth of Christ. Scheren is said to have visited Mohammed, and to have introduced the Mohammedan religion here; as the Levvi at Tranquebar stated to me. This nearly synchronizes with the time of Scheren's reign. If the names Malabar,

Coromandel, and Pandi, occur in this Inscription, I can only say that I have never, up to the present time, heard of a king named Malabar. Coromandel is not the name of a king, but of the Coast on which we reside. The king was called Schoren, whose kingdom this coast formerly was, which in Malabar speech is called Mandalam. It was therefore a common name among the inhabitants, who called this tract of country after the name of this celebrated king, Schoromandelam, i.e. the kingdom of Schoren. The word Pandi is also defective; the king called himself Pandijen. Learned heathens concur with me in saying that this Inscription belongs to no Indian language. They observe that one letter is taken from one language, and another from another, and that most of them were invented characters known only to the inventor. I have the Characters of almost all Oriental and Occidental Languages, and cannot find these Characters, except that some of them appear to be adopted from the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Bengalee. But I did not rest until I had investigated whether any other language is used in this country besides the Kirendum, Varuga, Mahratta, and Malabar; and when I heard that there were some others that had peculiar Characters, I did not rest until I had procured them. These languages were the Nagree, Guzzarattee, and Ballabanda. With great pains I got some brahmins to my house, who spoke and wrote these languages as familiarly as their mother tongue. I compared the alphabets of these languages with the Inscription round the Cross, and could trace no resemblance. The Sanscrit, which is understood only by brahmins, has the same Characters as the Varuga. So has the Canarese. Further, there is no marble found in this vicinity; if it is wanted, it is brought from a distance of nine days' journey inland. Where did St. Thomas find a marble pillar? No Englishman believes that St. Thomas

has ever been here. The Protestants who, up to this time, have never been able closely to examine the Cross, have been of opinion that, many centuries ago, a Syrian Christian or priest arrived on this Coast; and that much of what is feigned of the Apostle Thomas, occurred to him. This opinion I hold until the contrary is proved. The Thomas Christians on the other Coast, are a colony from Chaldæa and Syria, and use the Syrian language in their Church-Service.

Extract from a Work entitled Vida de D. Joanno de Castro IV., Viso Rey da India, primeyro tomo, Lisboa Occidental, 1722.

"And when they began to till the earth, they found a Cross, cut in the base of a marble pillar, four hands high, and three broad, sprinkled with drops of blood, which appeared to be quite fresh. This Cross was of the same form as those borne by the Knight of Avitz. Under the stone, were some small Crosses of the same form as the large one, and sprinkled with drops of blood. The great Cross was overshadowed by a hovering dove. In a circle round the Cross, were antique letters which none of the people of the country understood. Ancient people, and men skilled in languages, were sought for; but no one could find out what the Characters were, nor the meaning of the Inscription, until some years ago, when a brahmin from Narzinga was brought thereto, who gave us the following interpretation. 'From the time when the Law of the Christians came into the world, thirty years are reckoned, when, on December 21, the Holy Apostle Thomas died at Meilappur, from whom they received the knowledge of God, the change of the Law, and the destruction of the devil. This, God taught to twelve Apostles; and one of them came to Meilappur, with a staff in his hand, and built a temple; and

the kings Malabar, Choromandel, and Pandi, together with others of various nations, willingly submitted themselves to the Law of St. Thomas. The time came when the holy man died by the hand of a brahmin; and with his blood he made this Cross.' This interpretation being made by an interpreter who was hired, our people would not fully trust him in so grave a matter; so they summoned another learned heathen, skilled in all oriental tongues, who explained the Letters in the same manner, without the least variation. A printed exemplar was brought to the king, Don Sebastian, just as it is seen here."

Questions proposed to the chief Levvi at Tranquebar, with his answers.

1. Whence did the Mohammedans come to India? *A.* From Arabia.

2. When did they arrive? *A.* They relate as follows, though it seems very fabulous. "Among the Malabar kings, there were three, named Scheren, Schoren, and Pandijen. The Moors of India took their rise in the time of King Scheren, and in the following manner. Among other miracles, Mohammed caused half the moon to appear in heaven, while the other half settled on his coat; which half he caused to ascend again into heaven, while the other half descended from heaven, and took its place on his dress. This miracle was not only witnessed by all the people in Arabia, but king Scheren, not being able to sleep that night, and the phenomenon being high in the heavens, observed it also, with great admiration, and caused it to be recorded in a book, and the date of the night on which he saw it. Not long after, a ship arrived from Arabia with none but Arabs on board. Being asked what there was remarkable in their country, they reported that

there was a great Prophet, who could work many wonders, and who had lately split the moon, causing one half to descend to the earth, and then to ascend again, and the other half to come down. The King was astonished at the relation; asked on what day it happened; remembered what he had witnessed; and ascertained that it was the same day. Some time after, another ship arrived with none but Mohammedans on board. He put the same questions to them; and received the same answer. He inquired if they were followers of Mohammed; to which they replied in the affirmative. He further asked if Mohammed was a true Prophet; to which they replied that no greater Prophet had ever been. King Scheren wondered at this; felt a desire to see Mohammed; and told them that he would become a Mohammedan.

This purpose he found no better way of effecting than this. Not knowing what his enemies might attempt, if he openly quitted the country, he called his council together, and made known to them that he was obliged to give himself up to devotion and special service to God for forty days, during which period, no one could have access to him. At the same time, he shewed them a large chest full of writings, and commanded them to cause it to be conveyed on board the ship to be sent to Arabia. He further ordered them to provision the ship, and supply the strangers with everything they wanted. Upon this, shortly before the ship was to sail, he shut himself up in the chest, and so got on board the ship unobserved; the council and all his people still believing that he was in the country. Having been released from the chest, according to the secret instructions he had given, he arrived with his treasure, in Arabia; saw Mohammed; became a Mohammedan; and married there. After remaining some time, his father-in-law suggested that it would be better for him to return, and

convert his subjects. This he declined to do, but sent two persons to tell the whole history to his people, and that he was now become a Mohammedan. When these persons gave an account of Mohammed's miracle, some believed it, and became Mohammedans; others would not believe, and remained heathens. And in this manner Mohammedans or Moors came into this country.

3. Do the Moors follow the Koran in all parts? *A.* Some do, entirely; others, only in some points.

4. Are they of the six sects of Mohammedans, and of which? *A.* It is said that they have had eight sects, two of which perished, and six remained. Of these, two have fallen away, so that there are now but four, namely Anaphimassaphi; this includes the Tulukker: (2) Saphimassaphi, to which belong the Malabar Moors: (3) Malichimalliphi: (4) Ampullimassaphi. These two last are not here, but in Arabia.

5. Is there nothing of Christianity blended with their religion? *A.* They say of Christ, that he is a Prophet; but Mohammed is still greater. For Mohammed has said that Christ is his brother, and that he prophesied that a beautiful variegated bird would come, with feathers of pearls, and a throat of precious stones; and that thereby Mohammed was alluded to. Yea, Christ had taught that when Mohammed came, the people would no longer believe on him, but in Mohammed only.

They also relate of Christ, that in his youth, when he had to learn his letters, he desired his schoolmaster first to tell him what they meant. The master was astonished at the child, and at his question, and said that no child had ever asked him such a question before; and that he could not tell the meaning of the letters. Still, though he was a schoolmaster, he would gladly learn the meaning from him. Where-

upon the Lord Jesus explained the letters in such a way that he could not wonder enough at it.

6. What is their principal language? *A.* They use Arabic in their religious services; Moorish [Mahratta] in common conversation; and Persian in writing.

7. Is the Koran translated into Persian? *A.* Yes; and they have also a Persian exposition.

EXTRACT FROM MR. SCHULTZE'S DIARY OF THE YEAR 1728.

January 9.—Having been requested to furnish some friends with an accurate account of Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, I applied to an Armenian, who obtained it from his correspondent at Arkadu [Arcot]. The original is in Persian; the Armenian translated it into Portuguese. I hope it will be acceptable to many in Europe.

Jan. 14.—A young man, born at Goa, and of the Romish Church, called on me. He had become convinced of the truth of the Protestant religion through reading the Spanish Bible; and not only so, he had received it into his soul; so that a great change had taken place in him. This poor soul sought advice in his inward temptations. Often, he was inclined to go to the English Chaplains, and reveal the distress of his heart to them; but heard that he could not speak to them without an interpreter. Meanwhile he ascertained that I was here, and thought of speaking to me; but after several attempts, and even when he was on the way to my house, something intervened to prevent him. When, at length, he broke through, he found I was not at home, but had gone to Tranquebar. This so increased his distress that he walked about full of despondency; and if God's Spirit had not inwardly comforted him, it would have been easy for the enemy to drive him to desperation. After a long struggle, he came to my

house one morning, when I was catechizing the children, and spoke to my fellow-labourer, who gave him good advice, and encouraged him to believe that he would find that which he had sought so long. This morning, he came to me, and told me his case. It was easy to remove his remaining scruples, because he reverenced God's Word, as eternal truth.

Feb. 9.—I went with Mr. Leeke to preach to the heathens. This very good friend has made such progress both in Malabar and Portuguese, that he begins to address heathens himself.

Feb. 18.—Mr. Leeke sent to beg me to call on him. Though unwilling to stir out, I resolved not to put off my visit to another day. Our conversation was private. Something seemed to ail him; and towards evening, he complained of acute pains in his arms: a sign that he had taken cold. This easily happens in this hot country, and is very dangerous. The pores open with the heat; and if a cool air blows, the perspiration is checked, and this occasions the death of many. In the afternoon, we went into the Church, and he shewed me their Library and new Lodgings. At 8 o'clock, I wished him, Good night. But who would have told me—"This is your last meeting?" Now we shall converse in this life no more.—The following day, at noon, he fell into convulsions, and lay with his eyes and mouth closed till the 20th, at 3 o'clock, when he expired. I cannot refrain from mentioning this, because he made the work of the conversion of the heathen, his delight. His walk was retired, circumspect, and truly exemplary; so that of him, high and low, Christians and heathens, friends and foes, must give a good report. His name will remain a blessing as long as Madras stands.

March 12.—I finished collating the Varuga New Testament. It is now ready for copying.

April 1-16.—I was occupied in composing a concise Varuga Grammar, for the benefit of future missionaries.

April 17.—I began a vocabulary of the New Testament, omitting all pure Malabar words. The first column gives the English; the second the Varuga words; the third, the pronunciation; the fourth, the Malabar words; the fifth, the Latin. I finished it on May 5th.

May 4.—I finished the Varuga Grammar. For the sake of Europeans, it is composed in Latin.

June 29.—I began to translate the Great Catechism.

Aug. 26.—A native Syrian from Bagdad visited me. He got me to read Arabic and Syriac. He told me that the only Christians who reside at Bagdad, are Syrians and Armenians. If Europeans come there, it is only for a few months.

Aug. 28.—I finished the translation of the Great Catechism.

Sept. 26.—I had a baptismal service, when a heathen and his two children embraced Christianity.*

Nov. 2.—Died my Varuga Canacappel, a brahmin of sixty years. He was fully convinced of the truth of Christianity; and, of himself, came every evening after the labours of the day, and listened attentively while I expounded the Psalms. For before my people part for the night, I shortly explain the New Testament and Psalter to them. This man had copied out the New Testament; and had he survived, would not only have rendered us further service, but would have embraced Christianity with his whole family.

Mr. Schultze's Diary of the Mission for 1729.

Jan. 12. [New Year's Day, Old Style.†]—I called on the

* These were the first heathens baptized by Schultze.

† New Style (introduced into Italy, 1582) was adopted at different periods in different countries; in England, not until 1752, when Sept. 3, was counted Sept. 14. So, at Tranquebar, the New Style was adopted before it was introduced at Madras. The Missionaries occasionally use both, which causes some confusion.

Governor and members of Council. Happening to call, the same day, on Dr. ———, a leading member of Council came in. He inquired about my School, and how the Mission was getting on; and offered me any help in his power. Dr. ——— took the opportunity, and said; Mr. Schultze wants a convenient house for the new Mission and School; could not we raise a Subscription? On this, the member of Council said; Good; I will subscribe myself, and I know another person who takes a great interest in Mr. Schultze's undertaking, and who will, no doubt, subscribe, if I speak to him. I expressed my thanks for the kindness, and was glad that the gracious God had granted me this help.

Jan. 16: Sunday.—I had a baptismal service for eleven persons. I afterwards called on the Governor, and told him that some friends had offered to raise a Subscription for my School, and that I had to petition him to grant me permission to draw up a Memorial, and to send it to one friend and another. He was quite willing; but said I should shew it to him first.

January 19.—I handed the Memorial to the Governor, and he offered to lay it before the entire Council, at their first Session; which would far more impressively recommend the case than if I were to send it round. I humbly thanked him, and was very glad that God had ordered it so.

Jan. 24.—My Memorial having been read before the Council, the Governor subscribed for 100 Rix dollars. The good friend who suggested it, subscribed for 60 R. dollars; the other person he mentioned, 60 R. dollars; and a third, 50 R. dollars. So began the Collection; and the Seconde having received the Commission to prosecute it, I had no further trouble about it.

Jan. 30, Sunday.—Twelve persons were received into the Christian Church, by holy Baptism.

February 13.—Several Catechumens, having been daily instructed and catechized, received holy Baptism, to the number of thirteen persons.

Feb. 19.—A good friend presented me with wood for a bier; such as is in ordinary use here. Wood being very scarce in this place, and therefore dear, it was a very acceptable present.

March 9.—Being in want of Portuguese New Testaments, the Secretary sent me six copies from the Library by order of the Governor.*

March 22.—The Seconde, Mr. Robert Symonds, sent me 278 pagodas, being the sum collected for the Mission.

March 24.—I received from Tranquebar, six New Testaments in modern Greek, for distribution among Greek travellers.

April 15.—To-day being Still-Friday, the Holy Supper was administered.

June 2.—A house in Black Town was put up to public auction. It was most suitable for the Mission, being situated in the midst of the heathens, and yet not far from White Town. It pleased me much; but the small amount of the Collection, which was under 300 pagodas, afforded me small hope of being able to procure a roomy house. However, I committed the matter to God in prayer: He was Lord and Master; I, the least of his servants. That which pleased Him, should please me. With my mind full of these and the like thoughts, for many days, I went to-day to the auction. There were

* The Portuguese New Testament, mentioned in the Diary, (March 9, 1729) was printed at the expense and by direction of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, for the use of the Tranquebar Mission and for circulation in the English Settlements. Amst. 1712. 8vo.

many heathens and Moors there, eager to get it, who raised the bidding at once to 500 pagodas, i. e. 1000 Rix dollars, so I gave it up for lost. However, my good friends encouraged me, and when I was timid, bade in my name. As soon as the heathens and Moors were aware that so considerable a person was bidding for the house, they were at once deterred, and the last bidding stopped at 600 pagodas; at which price, I took the house with thanks, as if it had been given to me and the Mission from God. Immediately afterwards, heathens and Moors came and offered me 100 Rix dollars more, to give it up to them.

June 12, Trinity Sunday.—I preached in the mission-house for the first time.

June 14.—I had a pulpit erected. Wood being dear, and having the stone at hand, in the house, I chose stone.

July 13.—Mr. Consett, the new English Chaplain, arrived from England.

Aug. 3.—This Morning, the Catholic Patres at St. Thomé, assaulted my Ubbadesi, bound and beat him, put him in irons, and placed him in a dooley, ready to send him to Goa, to the Inquisition, because he professes our Protestant religion. Through God's providence, the report reaches the Moorish Governor, that they are going to put a man to death. He immediately rescues the innocent man from them; cast the bearers, as well as the keeper of a bath, in prison; puts his seal on their Church; and punishes the servants of the keeper of the bath, who had beaten the poor man by order of the Patres. It has cost them some money to recover their Church. I learned all this, this afternoon, at 2 o'clock, through two messengers, whom the Ubbadesi sent to tell me what had occurred. At night, without my interfering, the poor man arrived himself, but severely beaten.

November 27.—I was called to accompany Mr. Consett, the Chaplain, in attending two heathen prisoners condemned to die. I made an earnest address, in the presence of several hundreds of people, who collected in the street.

Dec. 14.—I obtained a burying-ground for the Mission, for 100 R. dollars. It is near the Catholic and Armenian church-yards.

Dec. 28.—During the last three months, I have made or procured to be made, translations of the Our Father [Lord's Prayer] into the Mahratta, Balabanda, Sanscrit, Kirendum, Goanee, and Guzarattee.

MR. SCHULTZE'S DIARY FOR THE YEAR 1730.

Jan. 8.—I was confined to my bed with a cold in my head, attended by severe pain. For fourteen days, I could scarcely get an hour's rest; and was so ill that I had no hopes of recovering. Mr. Consett visited me very diligently; and, being doubtful of the result, was much concerned for the Mission. This illness was a severe trial to our new Christians, as the Romish spread it abroad that I was dead, or at the point of death. But my God has preserved me alive, and has not delivered me over unto death, for his name's sake. May I live to Him alone!

Jan. 30.—A Portuguese from Goa, who is organist in the English Church, was married at the Mission-house, to a daughter of the Portuguese Reader at Paleiacatta.

March 14.—Mr. Consett called on me, and begged the loan of the Varuga Grammar, intending to translate it into English, for general use.

April 28.—The enmity of the heathens to our Christians was such, in doing them all sorts of injury, that I was obliged to mention it to the Governor, who summoned the offenders before him, and severely reprimanded them.

May 25.—Two English ships arrived. Governor Pitt from Cuddalore was on board one of them, being recently appointed Governor of Fort St. George. By these ships, I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary Newman, informing me that I should soon have a Colleague.

June 4.—Mr. Consett, the English Chaplain, one of the best friends of the Mission, was indisposed. On the 8th, he sent back the Varuga Grammar, of which he had finished his translation.

June 16.—The missionaries sent me from Tranquebar, Dr. Michaelis's Hebrew Bible,* to assist me in my Varuga version.

June 20th.—I finished the composition of my Varuga Conversation-Book.

July 13.—The Bridgewater arrived with Mr. Sartorius. The arrival of our dear brother rejoiced us all very much.

July 18.—I received 2000 palmyra-leaves from Tranquebar, for the Varuga Bible.

July 31.—Mr. Consett, after being long ill, died at 6 o'clock this afternoon. In this dear man, the mission has, a second time, lost a very good friend.

Sept. 23.—Having handed over to the friends here, who have been elected Corresponding Members of the English Society, the entire Mission-accounts, there were paid to us towards the discharge of the debt incurred, 420 pagodas 19 Madras fanams.

From a Letter of Mr. Schultze to Professor G. A Francke, Sept. 21, 1730.

Mr. Sartorius is just such a man as I wished for, and will

* Said to be the first Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text. Its Editor was a Professor at Halle. Biblia Hebraica ex aliquot Manuscriptis et Impressis Codicibus, Masora, etc. recensita, cura Io. Heinr. Michaelis, Halæ, 1720, large 8vo. (Niemeyer, Bibliothek fur Prediger.)

do good service. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who invited all the dear brethren to dine with him, in his Latin letter to me, speaks of Mr. Sartorius with especial commendation; for which reason, I forward you a copy of it. The contents of the letter are such as to make one wonder at the Archbishop's joy and complacency in the spread of the Gospel; and it might be well to communicate it, through the press, to the friends of the missionary-work.

I thank God that it has been found possible for you to send me a wished-for Colleague in so short a time. The selection and call of dear Mr. Sartorius, as I have learned both from letters and from his own mouth, were truly wonderful; so that it may be well said of him—He was "thrust out" to labour in the new vineyard in India. O! how glad am I that a fellow-labourer has arrived! This was my great wish two years ago, and lo! what I wished has come to pass; and from this, I conclude that God will carry on his work of the conversion of the heathens, at Madras. Since I have been here, my labour has, from time to time, so increased, that if a fellow-labourer had not arrived, I could not possibly have got through it any longer.

Archbishop Wake's Letter to Mr. Schultze.

Præstantissimo viro, Domino Beniamin Schultze, Gentilium apud Indos Apostolo atque Evangelistæ merito colendissimo, Gulielmus, providentiâ divinâ, Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus, Gratiam atque benedictionem in Jesu Christo, Domino nostro.

Miraberis, nec injuriâ, Vir spectatissime, quod post aliquot mensium moram, ex quo ultimas literas tuas accepi, de brevitate temporis querar, et quod vix scribendi spatium reliquum habeam, adeo ut raptim paucisque admodum mihi compellandus sis. Sed nôsti senûm mores, quam cunctanter omnia peragant,

nec nisi necessitate adacti, ad res gerendas progrediantur. Naves in promtu stant jam vela elaturæ; urgent amici, et literas absque mora sibi reddi postulant. Accipe, igitur, Vir optime, non quales vellem, aut etiam deberem, sed quales in hac temporis angustiâ exarare possum; et parce amico qui jam septuagesimum tertium ingressus vitæ annum, senio atque infirmitatibus gravis, vix ultro tædium laboremque scribendi perferre valet. Sed, nec hoc tempore, scribendi officium negligere sinit gratissimum illud nuntium quod a te accepi, de inchoata nova conversione Indorum Madraspatnæ, statuque illius Missionis admodum florente, quodque ad illam excolendam nihil desit quam ut ab his oris adjutor operis tui a nobis mittatur. Factum est quod desiderâsti. Virum ad te misimus, eumque Halæ, in feracissimo illo bonorum doctorumque Collegio educatum, et ad opus Missionis veluti a natura factum formatumque, Dominum Sartorium, diu probatum et in rebus agendis expertum atque approbatum; quem tu ut fratrem amantissimum de cœlo missum accipe, et pro tua summa humanitate, eo utere, fruere. Hunc a Domino Franckio, magni parentis filio, et jam etiam successore, mihi commendatum, ego, illius nomine, tibi commendo, et ut talem accipias, vehementer expeto. Ille, quæ est ejus pietas atque modestia, gandebit a te accipi atque amari, in hoc opere Domini dirigi, et sicubi opus fuerit—quod tamen minime aut credo aut metuo—etiam corrigi.

Det modo omnipotens Deus utrique vestrum vitam diuturnam, et mentes sanas in corporibus sanis; vosque sustentet in opere suo, et contra omnes adversariorum laqueos tueatur, ac successum vobis concedat in convertendis gentibus, si non ultra spem, at qualem nos vobis exoptamus, et Ipse, pro infinita sua sapientia, vobis expedire videbit; ut sic, in ultimis illis terrarum orbis finibus, vera Ipsius cognitio prædicetur, lumen evangelii

diffundatur, plures animæ convertantur, et illa de Christo prophetia vestra opera adimpleatur, qua promisit Deus ipse, se daturum Filio Suo gentes in hæreditatem, ultimos terminos in possessionem. Faxit hoc diebus nostris, benignissimus Pater; cui cum Filio redemptore ac Spiritu sancto, sit laus et gloria in æterna sæcula. Amen. Vale, Vir præstantissime, et orationibus tuis adjuva

Tui laboris atque pietatis cultorem in
Domino, studiosissimum,
W. CANT.*

The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in a Letter to Professor Francke, dated June 24th, 1728, announced the receipt of a Letter from Mr. Schultze "proposing that one or more of the Missionaries should be permitted to settle at Fort St. George [Madras], in regard to which, presuming upon the King of Denmark's approbation of such proposal, the Society have obtained fresh assurances from the English East India Company that the Missionaries shall always be protected in their Settlements."

Accordingly, the Society resolved to establish a Mission at Madras; and on the 16th of August, 1728, Mr. Schultze received his appointment. Up to this time, he had been acting as a Danish Missionary; and though he had resided at Madras since May 8, 1726, he had baptized no one; but on

* Archbishop Wake died in 1737, in his 80th year. Dr. Buchanan, who was in Tranquebar in 1806, states that the Latin Letters of the Archbishop, are "many in number." Of one of them he has given a translation. They produced quite a sensation abroad, to which, no doubt, the language contributed.—"What a dignity there is in the Roman language! and what an idea it gives us," says Cowper, "of the good sense and masculine mind of the people who spoke it!"

the receipt of the Society's Letter, he immediately began to prepare Catechumens for Baptism; and on September 26th, Christian, the first convert at Madras, was received, with his children, into the Christian Church.

Not content with the appointment of a single Missionary, the Society, towards the close of 1729, wrote to Professor Francke requesting him to select another. At the critical moment when it was necessary for the selected Missionary to set out for London, to be in time for the ships, something arose to prevent his going. "Having been intrusted with the choice of a candidate," says Francke, "I was anxious to do my utmost to comply with the wishes of the Honourable Society, which has so long taken an interest in the Evangelical Mission to the East Indies, and has now generously resolved not only to charge themselves with the salary of Mr. Missionary Schultze, but to send him a fellow-labourer. At length, I was driven to make the proposal to Mr. John Antony Sartorius, who had, for seven years, filled a situation of great trust in the Orphan-House at Halle, for which he was eminently fitted; and whose services we were very unwilling to spare. He requested only a single night to deliberate, and to present the matter before God in prayer; and on the following morning, he acquiesced in it as the will of God, and prepared to set out on his journey within twenty-four hours. To genuine piety, he unites talents and experience; and he may, after all, be the person whom God has fitted for the office; and the more so, because, at various times, he has felt a special impulse in his heart to preach the gospel of Christ to the heathen, if such were the will of God."

Accordingly on Jan. 12, 1730, Mr. Sartorius quitted Halle, in the society of two Missionaries and a Licentiate of Medicine, who were appointed to the Mission at Tranquebar. They

arrived in London, by Helvoetsluys and Harwich, Jan. 29th; and on the 31st were introduced to the Society by the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, one of his Majesty's German Chaplains; when Mr. Worm, one of the Missionaries, addressed the Society, and was replied to, on their part, by Mr. Ziegenhagen.

Of the incidents that occurred during their stay, they mention the following. Jan. 31.—They dined with Sir John Phillips, a Member of the Society.* Feb. 2.—Mr. Isaac Hollis "who had shewn much love to former Missionaries," called on them and left six guineas for the Tranquebar Mission, and four guineas and a half for the Madras Mission. Feb. 5.—Mr. Sartorius was ordained at the German Chapel-Royal, by the Rev. Mr. Ruperti, the senior German Chaplain to His Majesty George II., and preached in the Chapel in the afternoon: after which, Mr. Ziegenhagen, the second Chaplain, delivered an address to the Missionaries, at his own house, on the office of a Missionary, from Luke xiv. 23. Feb. 7.—They dined, in company with Mr. Ziegenhagen, at Lambeth Palace; when Archbishop Wake who, on that day, entered his 73rd year, expressed his great satisfaction at their arrival, and a particular interest in the Mission. They afterwards called on the Bishop of London, and other persons of rank, who all expressed great interest in their work; and "had their departure been delayed for a few days, they would, like former Missionaries, have been admitted to an audience of their Majesties." They add that the Annual Collection at the German Chapel-Royal in behalf of the Missions, amounted, this year, to £114; that the Prince of Wales sent a contribution of ten guineas; and that the Princesses (who had done so for many previous years) sent a like sum for the Mission.

* Of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire. Elected a member of the Christian Knowledge Society, in 1725; died suddenly, January, 1737.

In consequence of some uncertainty as to the arrival of the Missionaries, cabins had not been engaged for them ; and the number of passengers being greater than usual, all the influence of the Society would have failed to procure a passage, had not Queen Caroline interceded with the Directors, who ordered temporary berths to be fitted up to receive them, two on board the Bridgwater, Captain Williamson, and twó in the Craggs, Captain Grantham. Taking leave of the Society, on Feb. 7, they set out for Deal on the 8th, where they were detained by contrary winds till the 21st; and being afterwards driven into Portsmouth, did not sail from England until the 6th of March.

The noticeable occurrences of the voyage were few. On board the Craggs, an experiment was made to distil sea-water, of which sixty gallons produced fifty-five gallons of sweet water, and five gallons residuum. On passing the Line, May 17th, every passenger was required to give the ship's company ten quarts of French brandy, and four pounds of sugar for "punch." On board the Craggs they celebrated "the blessed memory of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, with great satisfaction," on June 25th.* They had fresh meat every day during the voyage, having, on board the Bridgwater, many hundred fowls, besides geese, ducks, "Welsh fowl," thirty sheep, thirty hogs, &c. Mr. Sartorius who was on board the Bridgwater, mentions with great simplicity, (no doubt, on good nautical authority) that "there were four single ladies on board our ship who were going out to India to make wealthy matches." The most serious occurrence to him

* In 1530, the Confession of Augsburg (drawn up by Luther and Melancthon) was presented to the Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Augsburg. In 1730, June 25th, a Jubilee in commemoration of it was celebrated at Augsburg, when 1100 Rix dollars were collected for the Tranquebar Mission.

was a severe attack of fever, caused probably by their unwholesome and uncomfortable berth in the Bridgwater, in the lowest deck of the ship, where the crew were; where there was neither light nor fresh air; and where the smells were overpowering. In all other respects but these, and their having no one to speak to on board, as they did not understand English, they had a prosperous voyage, and arrived at Madras on the 8th and 12th of July, without touching at any intermediate place.

Sartorius's first impressions of the Madras of 1730, are given in Letters to his friends. In reading those addressed to his parents and sisters, it will be borne in mind that his departure from Germany took place suddenly, without the opportunity of an interview with them; and that the family of a village-pastor, residing far remote from the sea-coast, might entertain very exaggerated notions of das wilde meer, and of a voyage to and residence in India, more than a century ago.

Mr. Sartorius to his Parents, at Laufen Selten, near St. Goar, in Hesse-Rheinfeldt.

Madras, Oct. 9, 1730.

"My beloved Parents,

I hope it has pleased God to let you receive my last letter, written from Portsmouth, in England, March 4th, 1730, in which I poured out my whole heart to you, being then about to leave Europe; and I trust that your minds have been thereby brought into acquiescence in the will of God."

After giving some particulars of his voyage, he thus continues: "At four o'clock in the afternoon of July 2nd, we arrived at Madras. Mr. Schultze came to meet us, and

conducted us first to the Governor, and then to the mission-house.

In White Town are the Fort, and the residences of the Europeans, of whom there are about a hundred families, mostly English; a few, Portuguese. It is surrounded by high walls, many parts of which are planted. The English have a Church in it, and the French Catholic Patres a large and beautiful one. Their congregation in the town and suburbs amounts to more than 1000 persons. These Patres are our bitterest persecutors and calumniators, much more so than the heathens; for these do us no wrong, but honour us; though they do not like to see one of their number become a Christian. In Black Town, reside Armenian Christians, who also have a Church;—Moors or Mahometans;—and many thousand heathens. And in the midst of these, dwell we. For as our office has to do with heathens, it is best for us to live among them. Black-Town is also encircled with high and thick walls. Outside the town, are extensive suburbs; in one part, above a mile long.

The air of the place is rather rough and unhealthy, especially in September and October, and even on to December, that being the rainy season. Frost and snow are unknown.

My ordinary food is meat, rice, cabbage, butter, and bread. Beef, veal, pork, and mutton are to be had; though the sheep are, properly speaking, goats. Bread is made from wheat mixed with a little rice meal. The wheat is imported from Bengal and other places: consequently bread is dear. In Tranquebar, they have none, unless they get it from Negapatam, a distance of sixteen miles. The native Indians eat no bread, except those who are very rich, but live on rice, seasoned with herbs, and salt-fish.

The pasture is bad. A bullock at two, three, or four years old, is not larger than a yearling calf in Germany. Cows and

oxen are suffered to live till they are more than twenty years old; they are therefore very large, and the flesh coarse.

The trees are always green, and have blossoms and fruit, ripe and unripe, growing on them at the same time. The commonest are the coco-nut and the palm tree. The nuts of the former sometimes grow so large that a man can hardly carry one of them. Of the sap of the palm tree, they make a strong liquor called Süre (Arrack).

My ordinary drink is water mixed with a little wine. At first, I drank English strong-beer, mixed with water. The wine is imported from the Cape, Madeira, the Canary islands, and a little from England. No sweet water is to be obtained in the town; it is brought from a distance of five miles, and sold.

This hot country swarms with all sorts of vermin. Ants are particularly troublesome, and there are many sorts, great and small, black, brown, white, red, &c. Sugar, butter, &c., left exposed for a quarter-of-an-hour, are entirely covered by them. To escape them, the legs of tables, bedsteads, &c., must be immersed in water.

Clothing must be light. Our preachers' gowns are of thin silk, made as long as a cloak, are buttoned round the neck and shoulders, and have narrow sleeves. We wear nothing under them but a white camisole: this is not in sight. In the house, we wear only the camisole, or a long striped gown of cotton. Beds are stuffed with cotton wool.

Our congregation consists of about 200 Malabars. The School is attended by the children of our Christians. Nine or ten are boarded and clothed, and live in the mission-house. We have no Church, but meet in a room, which will seat above 200. The people sit on the floor upon mats, Indians do not use stools.

The complexion of the Malabars is mostly brown; some are quite black; while in others, the colour tends to white. In one respect, they are all alike—their heart is full of thick, black darkness and blindness, evil, and hardness; whence proceed superstition, idolatry, whoredom, theft, deceit, and every sort of abomination. They are dull and unintelligent to good, and to learn good; but madly evil, and artful to lie and deceive, and especially to steal. To effect any good in such people, so as to bring them to the knowledge and service of the true God,—requires divine light and wisdom, grace and power, patience and gentleness withal, love and compassion. It is not enough to teach and instruct them; they must be guided and kept in order.

From all this, beloved parents, you perceive how it fares with me, and the nature of my work and office—weighty and difficult, but also glorious and blessed. And he whom God sends, he also qualifies; for which, I confide in his grace and love. Help me to pray that through my ministry, a great number of heathens may be turned from the dominion of sin and the power of the devil, unto God; and may be brought to his everlasting kingdom. After this I strive, that I may rightly employ my short life in this world. Let it not grieve you, beloved parents, that I am not with you. For such is God's will, which must have place over all, and must content us. We are not made and placed in this world only that we may remain therein and be together; but that, in the order of repentance and faith, we may yield ourselves to be made meet for that eternal life; and that we may seek the future abiding city, the land of joy and blessedness; for "here we have no continuing city." And we ought also to strive to bring others with us to blessedness.

Since, then, it has pleased God to bring me, for this end, to

this part of the world, we should be therewith content; and aim only at this—that we, who are related to each other according to the flesh, may meet together in that kingdom, and may enjoy everlasting happiness with one another in the presence of God.

That I may return to Germany and my father-land, is possible; but it rests with God, to whom we commit our way, and to whose sole guidance and government it is our duty to submit ourselves. My dear sisters, I exhort to fear God, and chiefly to aim, in this world, that they may be saved, and enter into God's kingdom. I greet them and all my friends, wishing them divine grace and blessing. And especially do I commend you, my beloved parents, to God's grace and mercy, protection and safeguard, and remain,

My heartily loved Parents,
Your faithful and obedient Son,
JOHN ANTONY SARTORIUS.

Mr. Sartorius to a Friend at the University of Halle.
October 9, 1730.

In Germany, we picture a voyage to India as more dangerous than in fact it is. That it is attended with great hardships, and is not free from danger, I do not deny. But can a merchant, or other merely natural man, or even a profligate person, venture on such a voyage—one who has no trust in God, no consolation nor hope? How much more may a Studiosus Theologiæ venture on it, if he has an outward and inward Call to it; and if his object be, not gain nor good days, but the promotion of the kingdom of Jesus Christ? Such a one can and ought to fix his sure trust in God that He will not forsake him, but graciously help him in all adversity and danger. And this I have experienced. For since God called

e, first inwardly, to his service here among the heathen, (for e gave me a strong impulse and desire thereto, such, indeed, I could neither damp nor suppress; and then the outward all followed thereupon);—I have observed so many indications divine providence in the removal of all sorts of difficulties hich lay in the way of my being actually sent, inasmuch as ery thing, in a short time, and in haste, must adjust itself ereto, and turn in the right direction—so, I was not only er more and more assured of the divine will, but derived om it ἰσχυρὰν παράκλησιν—a strong consolation and assunce that Jesus Christ, my Lord and Saviour, my Comfort id Refuge, would go with me in the ship, be with me and bide with me, and deliver me out of all adversity and inger; yea, would stand by me in India itself, that through e, his mean instrument, his name might be glorified. ccordingly, I went with a confiding and believing heart on ard the ship, having my "anchor" with me to which I held me st, and when storms or danger arose, I held it faster;—yea, e greater the trouble, the faster I held my Anchor, and let e wind and the waves storm and rage as they listed. And is my feeble hold on my Anchor, God graciously regarded, id delivered me out of all adversities.

And as it was outwardly, so was it often inwardly in my ul. There arose many a storm of temptation and assault. hen I long struggled against it, and could of myself get no lief, I threw out my Anchor, and drew myself gradually to im who is my soul's strength and consolation, and my irit's rest; that is to say, I fastened on God's word and omises; held thereon in faith; and, as it were, grappled yself to them; and urged and sent up my prayer to my God and viour in heaven, through the clouds; and thus, I found rest id peace, consolation, and sometimes great joy, (πληροφορίαν)

so that I laid me down in the love and pity of my Saviour, secure and comforted, and let it drive, in the assured hope that my Captain, Jesus Christ himself, would bring me to the right haven.

And so now, Jesus is the Anchor of my soul. If he do not help, it is soon over with me; and all I could do, would be vain. But with him, and through faith in him, it shall succeed with me in his work and ministry.

You know, my dear friend, without my telling you, the passage to which I refer (Heb. vi. 19), from which I have drawn so much encouragement and comfort; and of which, in my long voyage, I obtained much more experience and understanding; the more especially as I, and my dear brethren, had to encounter and endure hardships which our predecessors did not; and which our successors, I hope, will not experience. However, it has done us this service, that we have laid aside any delicateness that might have cleaved to us; and are prepared to suffer hard days and all adversities for Christ's sake, with patient minds; a needful requisite, as of every servant of God, so especially of a Missionary.

Mr. Sartorius to Professor Francke.

October 10, 1730.

A voyage to India is certainly attended with many hardships. Not to mention those which cannot be avoided, we had others, and not small ones. For example. There was not a single German in the ship, and as we knew but a few words of English, we had not one person to speak to. And being the last to engage a passage, we were obliged to have a cabin on the lowest deck of the ship, where no passengers, but only the crew, lodged; and where there was no day-light nor fresh air, but darkness and stench. For this reason, we were not able

to improve our time as we wished, though we availed ourselves of every hour and opportunity when we were unhindered and undisturbed. I, for my part, occupied myself chiefly in reading the Holy Scriptures, and meditating them for my soul's edification; having read the German Bible through, from the beginning to the Epistle to the Colossians; noted many parallel passages; and often compared it with the Original. Next to this, I spent most time in learning English; in which I mastered somewhat of the grammar and pronunciation, and read several books. I especially received great benefit, together with learning the language, from Experience Mayhew's "Indian Converts," containing biographies of faithful preachers, pious men, pious women, and pious children, among the converted Americans at Martha's Vineyard, an island in the West Indies,* where the Author had been a Minister. I also read Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, and some other books.

O! how many indications of the providence, omnipotence, love, and compassion of God, have I experienced throughout the whole voyage, and to the present hour! Out of all trouble and danger, by sea and by land, has God delivered me; and turned aside many dangers before they came nigh, that were only distantly expected. Yea, many a trouble which I had not before anticipated, remained concealed from me, till God's help and deliverance had revealed themselves; so that I felt and knew nothing of such trouble beforehand, and, therefore, was so much the more overwhelmed with joy; and with wonder, adored God's wisdom and love. And in like manner, God has helped me to overcome all inward

* Probably in the Colonies of North America. "The Plantations," as they were formerly called, were sometimes included in "the West Indies."

temptations and assaults; continually strengthened my faith; and held me up when I was ready to sink. All doubt and objections of reason, God has answered and resolved realiter; when he showed and, in fact, laid down and proved that it was His will; and that He would be with me on the ship; with me on the journey; and with me in all adversity; and make a way for my escape. Therefore, when I now look back on former trouble and hardships, it is all to me, on account of the Lord's help, like a dream—as if I had only dreamed that I had been in this or that trouble.

And as God has hitherto done, so will he further do; of which his past help and loving kindness give assurance. And each particular proof of the Lord's help and deliverance, out of each particular trouble, I have constantly regarded as a new motive and obligation, to offer myself up entirely to God, and give myself to him as his property. As I am assured that you are continually mindful of me and my dear brethren, in your prayers before God; so you will share in the gracious help the Lord has shewn to us, and in praise and thanks to his name for the same.

Some days after our arrival in this country, when the Danish missionaries were still at Madras, Mr. Schultze, who received us most affectionately, and helped us in every thing, began to instruct us in the Portuguese language. But the first lesson which almost every one who comes to this country has to learn, was given me by God himself; namely, through sickness, to learn, as well patience, as the art and method of taking care of one's health. I had an attack of fever, and an eruption* in my hands and legs; and though better in a few

* Called "the red dog." "Canes rubri nihil aliud sunt quam purpura rubra." (NIECAMP.) Sartorius subsequently speaks of its occurrence as marking a crisis in his illnesses; after which, he gradually got better.

days, I was again obliged to lie by for nearly eight days. Since then, through God's grace, I am somewhat recovered; but the system has to pass through all sorts of changes, before one gets thoroughly accustomed to the climate, food, air, &c.

Mr. Sartorius to Professor G. A. Francke, Jan. 31, 1731.

The present state of the mission, my dear colleague, Mr. Schultze, will report. To Mr. Ziegenhagen, at London, I have written as follows: 'The Work is yet in its infancy, and therefore one cannot say much about it. To guide and bring the heathen to the knowledge and service of God, is the chief thing we look at, and to which we direct all we do. How far, and with how many, we shall succeed, time must shew. That it is God's earnest will to bring men to the knowledge of Himself, there is no doubt. As the means thereto, he has given his Word; to us, to preach; and to men, to hear. Herein, a great advantage is already attained; but in most of the old and grown-up heathens there is, according to human appearance, little to be effected. What they hear of God and godly things is quite new and strange to them; they have not heard it all their lives; and have grown up and become hardened in apathy, superstition and evil. Ought we then to leave them to themselves? No; we labour on them as far as we can. If they yield themselves to be rescued, it is well; if they do not, it is their fault; and we apply ourselves so much the more to the young. These are as stones prepared for building; they are not yet corrupted, nor habituated to evil, like the former. I have real pleasure in the children. Most of them learn to read in the course of a year, whereas in the Malabar heathen-schools three, four, and five years, are required for this purpose. We have got more children this year: and shall take still more, if we can get

them: but the Catholics have persuaded the simple people that we want to send their children as slaves to Europe. The distinction of castes also makes a difficulty to us. Those who are not pariahs will not allow the children of pariahs to eat with them, or to sit among them; and we have not the means of providing for their eating apart. And if the children remain with their parents, little is effected; for they require not only instruction, but education. ......

It is extremely difficult to teach the Malabar children to sing. The language being uncultivated, and the children being accustomed, in their schools, to recite in a singing tone, or rather scream out, their lessons, they are very unapt to learn to sing. Our fellow-helpers had taught them almost a year, and Mr. Schultze had himself attempted it; but all their care seemed to be in vain, for the children continued their monotony, and when they had to sing high, only screamed a little louder. Recently, we made a new attempt; wrote the notes on a sheet of paper, and made them sing them with us. But they went on just the same. We then wrote the notes in a different way, disposing them like steps, to get them to understand what is meant by *high*. At last, we got a ladder, and when we sung a note higher, went up a step, and then down again. And other like wonderful methods have we been obliged to try only to help them to distinguish high from low. Afterwards, I sung a tune, and made them sing it after me, ten, twenty, nay a hundred times. Then, I did so with each separately; and so on.—They have, at last, learned a little, and can sing about ten tunes moderately well.*

One of our greatest wants is Catechists. When our children are grown up, this want can be supplied from our schools;

* Tamuli harmoniæ musicæ admodum imperiti sunt, et ob raucum vocis iter, vix tonum auribus tolerabilem formare possunt."—NIECAMP.

but that is a long time to look forward to. We have written to Tranquebar, and hope to get one from there.

MR. SCHULTZE'S DIARY FOR 1731.

Jan. 3.—Governor Pitt sent me eighty-two pagodas, which he and some friends had collected for the mission-house, which is not yet paid for.

Jan. 12.—Mr. Sartorius and myself called on Governor Pitt, it being New Year's Day, according to the Old Style. He asked for a full account of the Mission, which he had been ordered by his Superiors to forward to England.

Jan. 16.—I received a letter from Vizagapatnam, an English Colony; in which a Captain there, a German, requested some Portuguese books; which I sent.

Jan. 21.—A heathen young man, who had been previously well-prepared for it, received holy Baptism. The Major sent him, the man having offered himself as a soldier. He is the first of our converts taken into the Company's Service.

Feb. 1.—Governor Macrae sailed in the Craggs for England. He has been a good friend and patron of the mission, and has, in all cases, afforded me willing assistance.

Feb. 12.—The Malabar Catechist, Enoch, arrived from Tranquebar, to assist us. Of our new Christians, we have only two whom we can employ in the work; one is schoolmaster to the Malabar children, and the other copies Oles-books, and does anything else he is required to do.

March 4.—A chief Moor from Delhi, with a great following, called at the mission-house, to see and speak to us.

April 24.—I received a letter from Bencoolen, an English place in Sumatra, in which it is stated that in the Company's Ground at that place, there is a congregation of 112 Romish Catholics under two missionaries; and that one of them travels

to Macomoeo, twice a year, to visit the little congregation there, which consists of about twenty-six persons.

April 25.—Several chief Hollanders from Paleiacatta and Sadras, called to see our mission-establishment.

June 29.—A Catholic stranger visited us. From his pronunciation of Portuguese, we conjectured him to be a Spaniard or Frenchman. Though dressed as a civilian, we believe him to be a monk, who wished to examine our mission-house. For no Catholic has permission to come to our house, or to speak with us or our Catechist.

Aug. 28.—Mr. Goddard, the Seconde's Secretary, sent me a pagoda towards our mission-house. This makes the whole amount received, 498 pagodas. The Subscription is not sufficient to pay the purchase-money of the mission-house, and friends in Germany have made up the deficiency.

Mr. Sartorius to the Members of his Family. Sept. 1, 1731.

I hope you have received my former letters, from which you will have seen how graciously my God and Lord has protected and led me. I also sent you several texts of Scripture, written on oles, or palmyra-leaves, with my name subscribed.

I hope that you will now, at once, dismiss from your hearts the sorrow you felt on my account. What has been done, I did not do of my own head, but God did it. God put into my heart an exceedingly powerful impulse to go to India. While I resisted this impulse, I often fell on my knees and prayed to God to deliver me from such thoughts, (for I took them for a temptation of the flesh); and, then, He made the impulse stronger. God also called me to go to India; I have not run of myself. I thought much of you, my dears, and how you would grieve at it; but God made me certain in my own

heart, and convinced me that it was His will, which must take place of every thing. Since then God called me, I said with Samuel: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth. Send me, Lord, for thy servant followeth." Have I then done wrong? Tell me. This you cannot say, but you must confess and say: This hath God done. But tell me further: Ought I to have been disobedient to God? You must answer: No; that one must not be. Think of the prophet Jonas who would not go to the heathens at Nineveh, when God called and sent him; but ran away. What happened to him? The whale swallowed him up, but at God's command, it must vomit him unharmed on the dry land; and still, Jonah must go to the heathen. And so you see well that we must be obedient to God, let him call us wherever he will; for he is our Lord, Creator, God, and Father. Therefore it is certain that what has happened to me, God hath done it.

But tell me further: Has God done well? Has he done right? You must say: Yes—for the issue shews it. God has led me in so wonderful a manner that I cannot tell it you all. I have already written much to you about it—let it suffice. He has also enabled me to learn not only the Portuguese, but also the Malabar speech, so that I can already preach and catechise in it. O! I wish that you could but once see me in the midst of the black school-children, how I am so joyful and lively, and tell them of God and Jesus Christ, and instruct them in Christian doctrines, while many heathens come running up to listen at the door, and wonder that I can already talk their language, and preach in it so well.

Now, my dears, tell me: since God has called me among the heathen—since He has done right and done well—have not I done right in being obedient to God, and travelling

here? Tell me, I ask you. I know you must admit that I have done right.

Now I will ask you yet one word. Why trouble you yourselves, then, so much—and all too much? Why weep you then over it, and make my heart also fail, through your letter? I am not angry with you, for I know that you have done it out of love, and because you love me as your relation. But you may easily sin against God thereby. For you must admit that God has done it—that He has done right—that He has done well: and will you then weep? This is not properly against me, but against God. Therefore, take heed that you sin not out of too great love to me; but fix your heart in God, submit yourselves to His will, and praise Him that he has done well.

You admit in your letter that in your country, there is nothing to do, so that I should not have been able to be with you; but even if I had not come here, I should have been obliged to be elsewhere, and not in my father-land. That I am 2000 miles away, what is that? Life endures but a short time; we must think of eternity, and seek to be saved and to meet in heaven. There is no India in heaven, but we shall be there altogether. God grant it, through Jesus Christ our Saviour!

You see, my dearest, I have again written much to comfort you; therefore, be pacified, else I will no more write to you so many comforting letters. I love you from my heart, and pray for you: believe it truly. I know too that you love me. That you do so, is dear to me; and therein you do well. But out of this love to me, you must not be dissatisfied with God—that would be sin. Therefore praise God rather, and thank him; for it is well with me; and God will, I hope, bless my ministry to the salvation of many heathens.

As to the way of life here, it is certainly quite different from that of Germany. When I first arrived, I felt it much, especially the great heat, which was almost more than I could bear, and set my blood in a commotion. But my constitution is now become gradually accustomed to it, so that I no longer feel any particular inconvenience from it. As to food, I have already written to you about it in my former letters. It is not so bad as you have been told. Bread is dear, much dearer than meat, but a person can do with a loaf that costs six Saxon pfennings. If I want more I can have it. Wood is dear, but it is to be had. We do not eat roots for vegetables, as some have falsely told you, but cabbage of all sorts. Veal is rather dear, because oxen are used not only for tillage, but to ride on and carry burdens. The Moors harness them to carriages; and there is a species of ox, very large and strong, that run almost as fast as a horse, and hold out longer, the climate being too hot for horses. In this town alone, there are 200 or more........"

Mr. Sartorius to Professor Francke. Jan. 24, 1732.

In learning Portuguese, I have gradually drawn up a Vocabularium Lusitanico-Latinum, which may be a help to others in learning the language. In Malabar, I have also made some progress towards supplying a help, the want of which I felt much—a Lexicon Tamulicum. Mr. Ziegenbalg, and Mr. Gruendler began one; but had not brought it into order, and were prevented from proceeding in it by their early deaths.

To the same. January 26, 1732.

In preaching, our practice is to divide the sermon into two or three parts; and as each part is concluded, we catechize

the congregation upon it; when any of them, great or small, man or woman, may answer the questions.*

From the statement of accounts, it will be seen that to keep within our means, we are obliged to exercise a painful economy, and cut the work as short as possible.

Our chief want is a Church. The room in our house where we hold our meetings, is open on one side; and is too narrow to allow of the women sitting far enough from the men; which gives great scandal among this people. Their seats are scarcely two paces apart. Pariahs are obliged to sit with other castes, which is also an offence. And heathens and Romish, of whom many throng the entrance to listen, are obliged to go away; for the mats of our Christians reach nearly to the door. The school-house is small and very old, and we are afraid of its falling down during the storms and rains of the rainy season. In this country, old houses are taken down betimes, and rebuilt; to avoid such a catastrophe. I will allude to myself but this once, just to say that I have but one room, which serves as my study, my living-room, and my bedroom; a severe inconvenience in this hot climate. We have no girls' school-room. We ought to have schools in the suburbs and in the villages; but poverty and want prevent. Our burying-ground is unenclosed; the occasion of much disorder and many objections. We need more missionaries; if one of us were to die, it would be impossible for the survivor to get through the work. We have but eight missionaries on this coast altogether; the Romish Catholics have above ten times that number, besides those who reside up the country.

Besides the ordinary hindrances common to the missions, there are some peculiar to Madras—Irreligion and contempt

* Buchanan witnessed this custom, and gives an illustration of it. He adds, "It is impossible for a stranger not to be affected with this scene."

of religion—public whoredom with papist harlots, yea with the public heathen dancing-harlots, or pagoda-dancers—adultery—execrable avarice and unlawful gain—and other impieties of most of the Europeans, who prostitute themselves before Armenian and Portuguese Christians, and even in the sight of decent heathens, as ungodly despisers of God and of all religion. And this has so got the upper hand, that one can perceive in almost no one even an appearance of religion. To describe it in detail, would require many sheets. But be assured of this, it is much more abominable than can be imagined in Europe; though even there, there is great ungodliness in many places. Another hindrance peculiar to Madras, is the great power and wealth of the Romish people; by means of which and their deceit, they draw, pervert, and ensnare all to their side; while on the other hand, they abuse, calumniate, and persecute us, so that we do not suffer the hundredth part of the opposition from the heathens, which we do from them.

Such are the circumstances in which we stand; having, on one side, to contend against the devil; and on the other, against the papists. Our enemies are mighty, and man's help of no avail. God, who dwells in heaven, must help us, and give the victory to his truth over the devil and the world. And did we not assuredly know that God is with us; and his truth, word, and gospel on our side; we should, at once, return to Europe. But this triumph, they shall not have—this dishonour, we will not do to God. He has led us hitherto; and he has already shown so many proofs of his good pleasure in this work, and of his oversight over it, as to cheer us in our distress; so that we still wait on his help, and hope that our friends, in Europe will not, from the consideration of all this, suffer their courage to sink, nor withdraw their love from

us. It is not necessary to have anxious thoughts—God has already done much; He will do more. The devil and the pope's dependents, persecute us; but though we get little help from men, God has ever helped us through, and hitherto turned aside severe and hard persecution from our little flock of Christians. He knows that they are feeble, and grants them time to establish themselves. May he continue to do so, that we may see his glory and grace, and all his enemies be brought to shame; his children rejoice in his help, and his salvation be made known to the ends of the earth!

The short but explicit description of European Society contained in the preceding Letter of Sartorius, is probably the only instance of the kind to be found in the Letters or Journals of the Missionaries, whether under the Danish College or English Society. Their Mission was to the heathen; and they either refrained from such remarks; or, if they were made, they were considered private, and suppressed. The instance that most nearly approaches to it is to be found in Ziegenbalg's account of the pagoda-dancing girls, referred to by Sartorius; but his observations, of which the substance is given below, point to only one form of social evil.

The girls who are chosen to be Devadasigæl (Servants of the god) are required to be of a good figure. At five years old, they are put to school to learn to read the poetical books which they are hereafter to sing. As soon as they can read a little, they are placed in the dancing-school, which is usually kept in some part of the pagoda. Here, they are taught not only to dance, but to frame the motions of their hands, eyes, and every member, in accordance with what they sing; and thus their bodies become so pliant, that they can move them

at will. They have many hundred variations of such exercises. By the time their education is finished, they are from eight to ten years old, when they are publicly espoused to the god, with the same forms as are usual at weddings; assume another name; and are received as Tevatasi. As soon as they arrive at maturity, a marriage ceremony is celebrated a second time with a public procession and great pomp. "After this," says Ziegenbalg, "they begin their harlot-trade (huren-handwerck). For not being allowed to marry, and their occupations being all directed to excite sinful lusts, and the theme of the verses they sing being the unchaste doings of the gods, they make harlotry their regular profession; and it brings them such an income that they are able to provide themselves with dresses, and ornaments of gold and silver. Their whole attire, is the attire of a harlot; and all their words, gestures, and behaviour, are directed to the seduction of young people. Their houses are public harlot-houses, where many Europeans suffer injury to their souls, and ruin their health. And in India, alas! it has become a custom with European Christians, to have such harlots, with their musicians, to come and play and dance before them, for their amusement: which is a very heathenish abomination. Nay, there are many that make a point of attending to witness their juggling-sports on their festival days; by which it it is made to appear to the heathens, that their idol-worship has in it something far better than Christians have in their worship of God, seeing that these flock to such spectacles, and take delight in them. The Portuguese call the Tevatasigœl Balhadeiras* de Pagoda, (Pagoda-dancers); but the Danes and Hollanders call them dancing-whores (Tanz-huren), because their profession chiefly consists in dancing and whoredom."†

* Bayaderes is derived from it.

† Preterea cum tevatasigoel, i.e. saltatricibus idolo latricis, impudicum

Sartorius to his Family. February 8, 1732.

Except some slight attacks of illness, I am well. I do not want for bread, clothes, or any other necessaries. It has cost me bitter labour and much trouble, to learn Malabar; but I have done it with pleasure, because the Lord called me to it. I can now prepare a sermon in one day; and the next morning, I preach it to our new Christians. Sometimes, I go out into the villages, where none but heathens dwell, and preach to them. The pulpit is soon provided; for I speak in the fields, or to travellers on the road, or in the streets, or in the rest-houses, for an hour together. Sometimes I dispute with the brahmins, till they have no more to say; and then I tell them that they are "lazy bellies"* (Titus i. 12), and teach the people nothing good, but pervert them to idolatry. This is a blessed labour. Help me to pray to God to bestow his grace and blessing, so that many thousands may be rescued and saved. Some of the heathens are like the brutes. It costs much to bring such people to the knowledge of God. Many do not even know that they have a soul.

The clothing of the Malabars does not cost much. They buy a piece of cotton from three to five ells long, fold it round the waist, and they are dressed. The women let theirs hang down to their feet, and bring the end of it over their shoulders, or over their heads when they go into the streets:—and this is their clothing. The feet, arms, and head are left bare. On their toes, they wear rings of silver. They wear nose-rings of gold, set with stones. The ears, especially, are loaded with rings—often from four to six in each ear—studded with red

commercium habent (bramines), quæ infelices feminæ in pagodis aluntur, et quum nubere illis non liceat, rem meretriciam exercent. Iter etiam facientibus eas pro exigua pecunia offere solent.—NIECAMP.

* "Faule bauche." Luther's Version. In the English Version, "slow bellies."

and green stones. They bore the ears of children, and introduce a piece of wood or chalk, till the hole gets big enough to insert the finger or thumb. The more the ears hang down, the finer they think it. In this hole, they hang gold rings; and other rings, above these. There are few that do not wear some gold; even the poorest have a little, suspended round their necks or in their ears. In our Christians, we discourage it as much as we can.

It is now a dear time, the rice having failed, for want of rain. Rice, after being sown, is transplanted when about a hand high, and must then be kept constantly under water.

Sartorius to a Friend at Halle. February 14, 1732.

"Your letter afforded me great pleasure, especially where you mention that you have succeeded to my office. I do not doubt that you will fulfil its duties with diligence and fidelity. The Lord's blessing will follow your faithfulness; only spare neither trouble nor labour. You have been my partner in several offices, and afterwards succeeded me in them. If it be the Lord's will, perhaps you may again. I say thus much to you, as an old comrade, but know not whether you will come and help me draw the great net: (Luke v. 7.) Mine is only a hint from a fisher's servant: the Chief Fisher must beckon and call you, as he did me. (Luke v. 4.)

Should you write again, I should be glad to hear of my former friends and companions in the Lord, where He has called them, and what they are doing. I often wish I could hear one of Dr. Anton's Divinity Lectures, or a powerful sermon, such as you have so many of at your place. But good books, and especially the Holy Scriptures, with meditation, must supply the place of oral encouragement, whereby to chase away the acedia that cleaves so much to us, and keep

the heart in faith and confidence in God (especially under the depressing circumstances of this place) so that we may be cheered and strengthened to run our course.

As to outward circumstances, I often feel the symptoms of the malum hypochondriacum, arising from sitting too long at the languages; but I hope to get soon more exercise by going out among the heathen, and if it please God, to get rid of them. I have overcome the chief difficulties of the Tamul language, and was able, in eight months, to catechise daily, and in nine months, to take my turn with Mr. Schultze in preaching.

The rule in the Tamul Grammar: Vocales breves insunt litteris consonantibus, seems strange, and yet, it is true. Strictly speaking, it applies only to a short vowel. Thus, in the word Kanamâna, (great) the consonants only are written, the vowels being implied, except in the syllable mâ, which being long, the *a* is inserted: Kanamâna, Knmân. There are characters for the vowels, but they are used only at the beginning of a word that commences with a vowel, or at the beginning of a period: Vide Grammat. Tamul. Ziegenbalgii. Otherwise, it resembles Hebrew; except that the Tamul marks the vowel above, or at the side of the consonants, instead of under them.

It appears strange too when it is said that the Malabar language has no commas or points; but the construction is such as to shew of itself, whether the sentence is complete or not. All verbs in a period must be infinitives, participles, or gerunds; the last verb which completes the sense, is the only finite verb. For example: amicus meus, ad me veniendo, me salutando, sedendo, mecum loquendo, se pauperem factum (esse) dicendo, suam miseriam deplorando, ex ore meo solatium audiens (pret. part.) abiit.*

* Sartorius illustrates this peculiar construction by another extempo-

In Latin, the order of the words can be varied; in Tamul, it rarely can. To a beginner, this comes difficult, but by reading a good deal, one gets accustomed to it.

In the Nagree and Kirendum, and also the Balabanda, the resemblance to the Hebrew characters is greater than it is in the Tamul. On which I ground this argument: "Have you heathens borrowed Characters from the Hebrew? Then, your forefathers had intercourse with the Hebrews, and have heard of, and imitated them in other things: for example, in having a so-called 'holy-place' in the furthest part of the Pagoda; and in the Offerings, which you name as the Hebrews did." For it is certain that in the Feasts, Offerings, and other customs of these heathens, many Judaical histories are at the foundation, though they are now involved in fable by their poets. Baldæus has already remarked this in his Account of India; but a stricter investigation into the subject is necessary, and this must be done by reading the heathen books themselves.

Sartorius to Professor Francke. February 20, 1732.

A few weeks ago, some of our people had occasion to travel inland; and knowing that there were many papists there, we directed them to make inquiries. The place they travelled to was Arcot, where resides the Nabob or Divan, one of the chief princes of the Great Mogul. It lies three days journey from Madras, and is very populous and extensive, being one hour long, aud half an hour wide. The houses are small, mostly of mud; and the streets very narrow, so that four people can scarcely walk abreast. The Fort has only a mud-

rized example so obscure as to be scarcely intelligible. It will tend further to explain it, to observe that the Predicate is never introduced until the Subject, with all that belongs to it, has been fully stated.

wall, but is of great extent, so that many merchants reside and have shops in it. Its only use is in case of an attack.* The Nabob has a house in the Fort; but usually resides in another house at the outskirts of the town. The reigning Nabob is above seventy years old, and almost blind. They pretend that as often as he distributes a large sum of money among the poor, he recovers his sight; and that this has happened several times. He is now occupied with all his army in an expedition against the king of Tanjore, who refuses to pay his annual tribute. He has 5000 cavalry, 400 elephants, 1000 camels; and there are fifteen cannons in the Fort. The inhabitants are one third, Moors; and two thirds, heathens. The languages spoken are the Moorish, which almost every one understands; the Malabar, the Varuga, and the Canarese. The Moors have very many mosques; for when a rich Moor dies, he directs one to be built, as a monument of himself, and as a good work. Heathens are not allowed to erect pagodas. When the Moors first took possession of the country, they destroyed all idol-temples; and now, they do not suffer any to be built. The heathens still, however, have pulleiar-cowil, of the size of a pig-sty, in which stands the stone-idol, pulleiar. Pulleiar means—the great son—the chief child—in one word, The Prince. He is the son of Siwen and his wife Paruwadi, and is imaged with an elephant's trunk.

The papists have no church, but two meeting-houses, and two Catechists, who read to the Christians on Sundays. In one house, the Pariahs meet; they are reckoned at 1500; in the other house, the Sudras, of whom there are thirty. The Pater resides at Caruwapundi, twelve miles distant. His Malabar name is Amurtanader, i.e. Healer or Physician. The

* It was signally put to this "use," nineteen years afterwards (1751) when it became the scene of one of Clive's most brilliant exploits.

Patres who dwell up the country, all take Malabar names, because Indians can seldom pronounce European names. This Pater comes to Arcot once a year to visit the Christians. If there is a child or other person to be baptized, the Catechist takes them to the Pater's residence. All the Christians go to him to hear mass, at the three great festivals. The Pater has a school for ten or twelve boys, who are boarded and clothed. At Pinneipundi, he has also a Catechist, a meeting-house, and above 300 Christians. In each meeting-house, there are three divisions; one, in which the congregation assemble, in which there is an image of Mary; the Catechist's dwelling; and a room for the Pater, when he visits the place.

About twelve miles from Arcot, is Vellore, a Moorish Fort, built of squared stones, and surrounded with a broad, deep ditch, containing crocodiles. There resides the son of the Nabob's elder brother. He has 300 cavalry, twenty elephants, and fifty camels. The Papists have two meeting-houses at Vellore, and fifty-six Christians. At Puschppagiri, some miles from it, they have as many; and here resides the Pater Nittia-podager, i.e. Eternity-teacher. Farther inland, is Attippacam, where resides Pater Veda-podager, i.e. Law-teacher, with thirty Christians. He has meeting-houses and Catechists in some other places. Farther up the country, where Canarese is spoken, at Erhumaleiturugam, resides Pater Arulanander, who has two meeting-houses and many Christians under him. Still farther on, are the Patres Sattia-podager and Rasen-direr, who reside at no fixed place, but are sometimes at one, and sometimes at another place, where they have congregations.

All these Patres are Jesuits. Here, however, up the country, they call themselves Paulists or Ignatius-Patres. They depend on a Pater at Pondicherry, who calls himself Sansivi. They conform to the heathens in many things; among others, in

boring their ears and wearing gold ear-rings. They are said to understand the languages of the country, well; and to speak them. The country Christians it is said, learn the pater-noster, creed, and commandments, well, so far as the words are concerned; but they understand nothing of what Christianity implies. Some of the Catechists are able to dispute with the heathens; but if an objection be made to the doctrines of Christianity, they cannot answer it; for this their Paters have not taught them.

Diary for 1732, chiefly by Mr. Sartorius.

Jan. 1.—One of us unexpectedly came on a place where, a few days ago, a dead body had been burned. The bones still remained in their place. In a few days, the relations will come with drums and cymbals, and collect them. They will then sprinkle milk on the spot where the bones lie (whence the ceremony is called Paltoli, the milk-sprinkling), break some young coco-nuts, the milk of which is cooling; and strew the place with sandal-wood and flowers, partly, as a refreshment, and partly, as an honour to the soul of the departed. Wealthy natives sometimes send the bones of their dead to Bengal, by express, to be thrown into the Ganges; accounted by them a very holy river.

Jan. 2.—A brahmin-merchant of Guzerat, called to see Mr. Chamberlayne's edition of the Lord's Prayer in various languages.* He could not make out who they could be who do the will of God in heaven. So unknown to them is the

* John Chamberlayne, an Englishman, in correspondence with Ziegenbalg and Gruendler, the latter of whom procured for him in 1720, the Lord's Prayer in Kirendum and Varuga. He died in 1724. His work contains the Lord's Prayer in more than 100 languages. Chamberlaynii Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium fere gentium linguas versa, cum Dissertatione de linguarum origine. Amst. 1715. 4to.

doctrine of angels and spirits, that even the learned among them do not understand the word '*spirit.*'

January 21st.—A Portuguese, born at Batavia, and now, a soldier, desired to join our congregation, and to be married to a Romish woman with whom he has cohabited for eight years. The scandalous custom prevails in this country, among many Romish and other Christians, of living together for years, without being married, that they may separate at pleasure. We told him that we would marry him on condition that he learned the Christian doctrines, and lived conformably. He did not come to us again.

Jan. 22.—One of us went to Tiottiur, a village four miles north, which the English Company took from the Divan, about fourteen years ago. In it are fourteen families of brahmins.

Feb. 1.—The weekly prayer-meeting was held. At these meetings, a passage of Scripture is explained as an instruction on the nature of prayer; and then, as many of our Christians pray as the time will allow.

Feb. 6.—We received letters frem the English Chaplain at Calcutta, advising us that he had sent back to us 285 ounces of silver, which a friend in England had remitted to us, and which had been taken to Bengal in a Company's chest. The Captain, Mr. Robert Boote, called on us.

Feb. 16.—Two of the Tranquebar missionaries arrived on a visit.

February 22.—I, Sartorius, accompanied the Tranquebar brethren on a journey to Paleiacatta, to visit the Portuguese and Malabar Christians. Their congregation was formerly 200, but having no Preacher, but only a Reader, these poor sheep are left without due pasture and discipline, and are greatly reduced in number. They besought us to recommend

their case to the consideration of the Hollanders there. The Malabar Catechist showed us a transcript of a Malabar book entitled Christiano Wanakkam, Christian Worship, printed in 1579, at Cochin, in the "College of the Mother of God," for the use of the Christians on the Pearl-fishery Coast. And so, no doubt, was another Malabar book which we have seen in the possession of a Romish Christian at Tranquebar, of which the title is: Doctrina Christam, a maneira de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P. Marcos Iorge da Companhia de Jesu: Tresladada em lingua Malaver ou Tamul, pello P. Anrique Anriquez da mesma Companhia. Em Cochin, no Collegio da Madre de Dios, a os quatorze de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX.

February 25.—We visited a heathen pagoda near Madras, belonging to the sect of Vishnu, into which those of Siven's party do not enter. These people are mostly Varugas, called by the English Gentoos, and by the Hollanders Gentiven. The word Gentoo, derived from the Portuguese Gentios, properly means "heathens," in contradistinction to Mouros or Mahometans. We also had a conversation with the Lewai of a Mahometan Mosque, to whom one of us read part of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, in Arabic. When the words "they shall be called the children of God" were read, he said: How can God have children? And when this was illustrated by the custom of adopting children, he further objected that no one could adopt a slave. He asked, further, if there was no mention of Mahomet in our Ingil or Gospel; and on being told there was not, thought we could not have the right Gospel.

March 4th.—The Tranquebar brethren accompanied me, Schultze, to St. Thomas's Mount. They had addressed a Letter to the Bishop at Maleiapore or St. Thomé, requesting

to see all that was curious. He granted permission, but substituted for the word curiosa, the words veneratione digna. They shewed us the celebrated Cross. One of the Paters came to us and begged an alms. We asked him why it was said in an alleged ancient book (Dorothei* Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum) that St. Thomas was killed and buried at Calamina; to which he replied that some derived the word from Kallu, i.e. Stone or Rock. The Armenians pretend that they carried away the body of St. Thomas into their land. From two credible persons of the Romish Church, we learned what follows. The Thomas-Christians who come here on frequent pilgrimages from the Malabar Coast, are accustomed to take with them to their own country a little earth from the alleged grave of St. Thomas, and thus a deep hole has been gradually formed. About two years ago, while engaged in excavating more earth by direction of the Bishop, they came to a large stone with bones underneath it, and a figure cut in stone with a book under his arm. Upon this the Bishop convened the Patres, the majority of whom agreed that this must be the image of St. Thomas. But a certain French Pater from Madras objected, because in St. Thomas's time there were no bound books. So they referred the case to Rome and await the answer.

March 6.—We visited the Armenian Priests. At present they are four in number, usually only three. They desired more acquaintance; but as they understand neither the languages of this country nor of Europe, but only Persian and Armenian, it creates a difficulty. Being a Fast, a screen was placed before the altar, on which was depicted the history of the Sufferings of Christ. Like the Ethiopian Christians, they use no sculptured or cast images, but only paintings.

* Bishop of Tyre, about the year 303.

They are more strict in their Fasts than the Romish, eating no fish or anything of the kind.

March 7.—A Greek named Georg Constantin Christianiza, a native of Cronstadt in Siebenbirgen, called on us. He is a man of great curiosity and extensive reading, has travelled a great deal, and can speak many European languages, German, Dutch, Danish, English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese; having resided for a time in all these countries. He now serves under the Spaniards, on board one of their ships, and came here from Manilla.

Of the New Testament in modern Greek, which Mr. Schultze had given him, he said that the Patriarch at Constantinople had forbidden it to be read, lest the original Greek text should be neglected. When speaking of Rome, the city which lies on seven hills (Rev. xvii. 9), he said that New Rome or Constantinople is also called the seven-hilled city, or Heptalophos, and pointed out to us, in the Greek History (Βιβλίω ἱστορικῶ) of the Metropolitan, Dorotheus, printed at Venice in 1684, an epitaph on Constantine the Great, written with abbreviations, which Gennadius, in the time of John VI. Palæologus, explained, in which it is predicted that the kingdom of Ismael, under one, named Mahomet, would take Constantinople, in the first year of the Indiction.

As he had travelled in India and was able to give us the best information, we put many questions to him, and among others, how the Jews came to India? His answer was this: When the Mahometans got the upper hand, many heathens, who were fire-worshippers, fled to Bombay and other places; and many Syrian Christians and Jews to Cochin and its neighbourhood. To the question what he thought of the Papacy, he roundly answered: It is Antichrist.

He also shewed us some Coins: (1) a gold Coin, with a

figure of Alexander, on one side; and on the other Fortuna, with the word ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, and underneath a Λ with an O within it; i. e., Son of Olympia. (2) Two silver Coins, one very ancient with an *Owl* on one side, and on the other, ΑΘΕ.; on the other Coin, was the effigies of Heraclius, the Greek emperor, who vanquished the Persian king Cosroem II., and recovered out of his hands the Cross of Christ, and thus acquired the name Soter; which was inscribed, on the obverse side, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

The English Chaplain, Mr. Wynch, invited all the Corresponding Members of the English Society, together with the Tranquebar brethren and ourselves, to dinner.

April 3.—Our Catechists have frequent disputes with the Romish. When the subject happens to be the worship of images, the Mahometans sometimes take part with our Catechists. Even the heathens say: You are no better than we: we worship images, and so do you, only the names are different. Our practice, however, is to dissuade our people from disputation, as good seldom arises from it, and the minds of both parties get embittered. Our instruction to them is, to declare the Evangelical doctrines categorically, and prove them by Scripture. In such cases, the Romish Catechist often concurs; or affirms that it is also their doctrine.

April 15.—One of our school-boys was stung by a scorpion. It was caught; and thirty living scorpions were found in its body, which were killed as they were running away. The wound is not mortal, but occasions great pain for four-and-twenty hours. If the part is rubbed, and the leaves of a certain tree are applied to it, the pain ceases in a few hours.

May 7.—A Romish Christian just returned from one of their annual feasts at Paleiacotta, (held in honour of an image of Mary, said to have been found in the sea,) mentioned to us

that the feast had been very fine this year; and that a Pater from Madras had made the Pusei; i. e., performed mass. Pusei is the word applied by the heathens to the drink-offerings poured over the heads of their deities. Being asked, what he understood of it; he replied: Nothing; it was celebrated in a European language. *Q.* What is the use of going then? *A.* Sir, you know that when the heathens have a feast, many go to it from other places, spend a few fanams in offerings, eat, enjoy themselves, look at the feast, and then return home. In like manner, we have our feasts, and make merry.

May 29.—The Missionaries at Tranquebar sent us a further supply of palmyra-leaves obtained from Ceylon, for the Varuga Bible. The palm-leaves of this country last but a few years.

June 17.—The Greek, George Christianiza, begged us to give him an Arabic Testament for an Arabic Christian. The English Society sent us a supply last year for distribution.*

June 22.—A German from the other Coast, now on his road to Bengal, informed us that the Tranquebar Mission is well-known in Ceylon, Bombay, Cochin, and other places he has visited. He further told us that, besides many Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, there are very many German soldiers scattered up and down, who belong to the Evangelical Confession. He mentioned that on meeting a brahmin at Cochin,

* The Arabic New Testament, 4to, 1727, and an Arabic Psalter, without Points, Amst. 1725, were printed at the instance and under the sanction of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge; proposals being issued for the purpose of obtaining Subscriptions towards it. They were designed for "poor Christians in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Arabia." Of the Testament 10,000 copies, and of the Psalter 6000 copies were printed at an expense of nearly £3000, towards which George I. contributed £500. Solomon Negri, the Editor, was a native of Damascus, and had taught the Oriental languages at Halle, and was brought over to England for the purpose. He died in 1728 or 1729. "The text of the Psalter differs from that of Gabriel Sionita, and from that of the London Polyglott." (Clarke's Bibliographical Dict.)

he called to one of his comrades to notice how much he resembled a European. "I am a European," said the brahmin—"I am a Pater. We are obliged to appear so among the heathens, lest they should know us." After they had become better acquainted, the man told him that the Pope had sent more Paters to this country, to root out the German law from Tranquebar: meaning the doctrines of the German missionaries.

This German subsequently wrote to us from Calcutta, informing us that there were, at that place, sixty-five Germans; at Dacca, twenty; at Cassimbuzar, eighty. The number at Patna, he did not know. In all, there could not be less than 200, besides those who come and go in ships. He added that if the English Company would sanction it, they would willingly subscribe together to have a minister, for it grieved them them that they had no one to care for their souls!—Most of the Germans are soldiers; some are writers, and some traders. We earnestly wish that their condition may excite the consideration of truly Evangelical minds, and that some remedy may be found for it. We would willingly do our part in preparing such a man, could one be sent. May God, if it be his will, shew the means and way!

July 7.—Two Chinese merchants from Batavia, called on us. They left China two years ago; and therefore knew nothing more of the condition of the Christians there, than was already known to us; namely, that their position is weakened; that, in several places, they are much persecuted, and that many thousands have been put to death. These Chinese were not Christians, but spoke Portuguese; that being the ordinary commercial language in India.*

* The low Portuguese, called Lingua Franca. It was not a written language. Its chief peculiarity was the absence of conjugations. Future time was indicated by *lo*, and past time by *ja*.

July 18.—All general truths such as the being of God, creation, preservation, that it is the duty of man to know and worship God,—the heathens admit; as well as that their deities are only stone, and cannot help them. But they think it impossible for them to attend to spiritual things, because they must provide for their bellies. The providence of God they deny not; but *trust* in God is to them a strange thing. When conversing with them to-day, I thought,—What is the difference between these heathens and earthly-minded Christians? The words of Christ abide true: Matt. vi. 31, 32.

July 19.—All books we need for our mission are supplied by our dear brethren at Tranquebar. We received some to-day.

July 21.—A Christian Englishman called on us, who holds the godless lives of the Europeans of this country in detestation. He expressed a wish that there might be meetings for mutual edification, and the furthering of good in others, like "the Societies"* in England. Such a proposal has already been made by others; God grant that it may take effect.

July 23.—A sick and aged woman applied for baptism, recovered, and withdrew. The explanation is this. Heathens, on the death of their friends, are obliged to perform many ceremonies, that cost even the poorest of them two dollars. Christians bury their dead at the cost of only a few fanams. Hence some poor heathens allow their relatives to be baptized by the Romish, even on their death-beds; thus relieving themselves of the expense of burning their dead. If they can but articulate the words Jesus, Maria, Joseph, the Romish baptize them; put a rosary round their necks and a crucifix in their hands, and pronounce them saved. The number of Christians they annually make in this way, is considerable.

* Dr. Woodward's "Account of the Religious Societies" occurs in the earlier Lists of Books circulated by the Christian Knowledge Society.

July 24.—A learned brahmin from Arcot visited us. Compared with others of his class, he could give clever answers. He said: The images we worship are not gods, but properties, operations, and powers, of the One Supreme God. He created all things; all originated from Him, and eventually returns to Him; so that virtue and vice, evil and good, will be absorbed into Him, eliminated from man, and, thus, after many births, all will be saved: just as salt is formed from sea-water, which salt, when cast into the sea, becomes water again.

July 27.—We were rejoiced by the arrival of the new missionary, Mr. Geister, and the Mission-Medicus for Tranquebar, Mr. Cnoll.

Aug. 22.—The translation of the Bible into Varuga was completed.

Aug. 30.—I, Schultze, received a Letter from the Honourable Mission College at Copenhagen, authorizing the printing of the Varuga Bible at Tranquebar.*

Sept. 21.—We heard that the Dutch Chaplain at Negapatam, the chief Settlement of the Dutch on this coast, had sent a Catechist to Sadras. This intelligence inspires a hope that the Dutch will hereafter concern themselves more for the promotion of Christianity on this Coast.

Sept. 25.—Mr. Isaac Hollis of London, sent a liberal contribution to the Mission at this place, and signified his wish that thirty children should be boarded, clothed, and educated at his expense.

Sept. 26.—We visited the Armenian priests, and, at their request, attended their evening Service. They read several chapters in the Bible, sung hymns, and recited the usual forms of prayer. When all was over, we conversed with them

* It does not appear that the Varuga Version by Schultze was ever printed.

through an interpreter. Their service is performed with many ceremonies. For example, during prayer, the priests often prostrate themselves, touching the ground with their faces; then, stand up again, and cross themselves. Whenever they approach the Altar to extinguish the numerous lights, or to take a book, they kiss the Altar. The Bible in their language, was printed at Venice; the New Testament, at Amsterdam.* They have the Evangelists and the Acts very beautifully written on paper, with the initial letters beautifully painted. This was deposited on a desk, rolled up in a silk covering. Whenever it is taken up or laid down, they kiss it; and at the conclusion of the Service, a priest carries it round to all present, who devoutly kiss it. Their entire Liturgy is in Armenian. The hymns are chanted with many antiphonies and alternation of voices. They leave their slippers at the church-door, and enter the church, barefoot; take off their turbans, but retain the little cap they wear under them. Both priests and laymen shave their crowns. The congregation does not exceed 150. The women stand in a gallery, to which a stair-case leads from the outside. It is latticed, so that no one can see them; and they themselves can see only the altar, though they can hear everything. These Armenians all come from Persia, where they have twenty-four churches

* The Armenian Old Testament was a Version of the Alexandrian Septuagint, and being made at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, was of considerable value as representing ancient Manuscripts. The ancient Armenian Version of the New Testament was of the same date. But the Amsterdam editions of 1666—8, are said to have been conformed—the Old Testament, to the Peschito or old Syriac Version and to the Latin Vulgate; the New Testament, to the Vulgate,—by Uskan, an Armenian Bishop sent to Amsterdam to superintend the edition. Brunet (Manuel de Libraire) records an Edition of the Old Testament, Venice, 1733, folio; but that seen by Schultze must have borne an earlier date.

and schools; also, bishops, and an archbishop. The priests here depend on a Patriarch in Armenia, who sends them to Madras. As they cannot bring wives from Persia, even if they were to pay the king thousands of dollars, many of them marry here, the children being all kept to the Armenian Church.

Sept. 28.—We received from Tranquebar several books of which they have duplicates in their mission-library. A translation into English of the Varuga Conversation-book was completed to-day.

October 17.—The revisal of fifty-seven Malabar sermons, formerly preached at Tranquebar, was completed. They are suited to the apprehension of the natives, and will be useful in places where there is only a Catechist or Reader. The Reader at Paleiacatta has already been supplied with some of them.

October 22.—A heathen soothsayer went round the town begging. He carried a little rattle, shaped like a drum, about five inches high, and four wide. This he holds to his ear, and pretends that the devil reveals secret things to him by the sound. He takes his stand before each house, and says that the people who live there have been poor—or rich—but that the man would get a good service,—or be reduced to poverty,—or that within such a time, some one would die, &c.; and then he calls on all the devils and she-devils by name, to bear witness to his words; which, as he pretends, they do through certain sounds of the drum known only to him. The poor people get terrified, and give him one or two fanams, or even less, if they have not got so much; and then ask forgiveness for not being able to give more, falling down before him, and beseeching him not to curse them. The more they promise the rich, the more they get; for the Malabars are glad when any one wishes them riches, honours, and good days.

I 2

November 14.—Two of us went to Semberam-Packam, twelve miles west of Madras. Here, there is a large tank, nearly four miles square, constructed by the celebrated king Schorem—from whom this country is called Schoromandelam [Coromandel]; or as others say, by his sister. Here, the rain from the south and west, is collected; and, during the dry season, it is distributed through nine stone sluices to thirty-two villages. The tank contains a supply for twelve months. Near the great sluice, there are marks to indicate how many months' supply remains in the tank.

Dec. 1.—Almost every year, some of the so-called Thomas-Christians arrive from the Malabar coast, to attend the St. Thomas feast, held on the Great Mount. So far as we could ascertain from conversation with them, they have little of Christianity beyond the name. Syriac, which we should expect them to understand, they can neither read nor speak. To-day, two Patres belonging to this party, such as often make pilgrimages to St. Thomas's Mount, and come here to beg, called upon us. Their mother tongue is a broken Malabar, resembling that spoken at Maleialim, near Cochin, where the Thomas Christians reside. The younger one spoke Syriac, and was able to read the Syrian missal he had with him, which was written in black and red ink; but he could not get on with the Syriac Testament we showed him, because the Characters differ from those of their books. His pronunciation likewise differed from that adopted in Europe, and from that taught at Halle by a native Syrian from Aleppo. These Patres were simple, unlearned persons, and could impart little information as to the present state of their Christians, except the following: They acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and are subject to the Portuguese bishop set over them. Mass they perform according to the Romish

ritual, but in the Syrian language; and explain it to the people in Malabar, because the common people do not understand Syriac. The priests are not allowed to marry; and they are all taken from the caste of Cassanars, who, from old times, have been priests. The Holy Supper they dispense in only one kind. They pray to saints; and hold that not Thomas, but Peter, is the chief among the saints. On the last point, we spoke a little to them. They listened with perfect indifference, after the Malabar manner, without any contradiction; and, after receiving an alms, departed. Their dress was a long blue cotton garment, and a black cotton cap, shaped almost like a hat. The Thomas Christians who are not subject to the Pope, reside farther inland, chiefly among the hills.

Dec. 3.—A young Englishman placed a Portuguese lad at our school, for whose clothing and board he is to pay. A young Malabar can be maintained for twelve R. dollars a year; an elder boy costs a few dollars more.

Dec. 7.—For the benefit of the German soldiers, we had a German Service, for the first time.

Dec. 9.—Two of us went to Tiottiore; and on the road, we met some hundreds of people returning to Madras from the feast there, where they had been making merry. We saw several engaged in offering a meat-offering before seven erect stones, sculptured with figures, called The Seven Virgins: i.e. they laid before the idols some chicken on green fig-leaves; and, some paces off, they cooked rice. They had also placed a handful of uncooked rice on another obscene figure of stone. When the rice is cooked, they carry it all home, eat it, invite friends to partake of it, and make merry. Then, they go to the great pagoda; see the pagoda-harlots dance, and hear them sing; give a brahmin one or two fanams; and so return

home. As we drew near the great pagoda, they closed the doors; but allowed us a glance at the little idol-temples, of which there are thirty or forty within the inclosure of the great pagoda. We addressed them, on the vanity and indecency of their idol-worship; but having a troop of dancing-girls within, they assented to all we said only to get rid of us.

Dec. 18.—A heathen passed us carrying figures of their deities made of paper, such as their chief people hang up in their houses, as ornaments. We asked him, if these were their gods? He answered: "No: for since the English and other European nations had come into their country, they—(the Indians)—had examined the law and religion of the same, and when they found that these worshipped only the one true God, they—(the Indians)—did so too: the figures of the gods they regarded only as ornaments."—It is in this way that the more respectable and intelligent heathens are accustomed to excuse their idolatry; and thus much may be inferred from it, that they begin to be ashamed of it, and do not venture to defend it. There are Europeans here (who do not examine into the grounds of things, and who, in general, care little about religion, but make money, pleasures and honour, their gods,) who are ready to say that they find among this people (their brethren in infidelity)—nothing of the gross idolatry which people in Europe imagine; for that the heathens themselves admit that their idols are not gods, but that they use them merely to direct their worship to the Supreme Being,—and so on. But let any one look at the daily practice of these heathens, and he will find entirely the reverse of all this. First, they have no knowledge of the Supreme God, though they perhaps know and acknowledge that He is;—nor any concern to learn to know Him. Secondly, they will not

give up the obscene histories recorded in their books concerning their gods, but justify and excuse them. Thirdly, they make offerings and burn incense to the household images of their gods; pray to them as well as to the images in the idol-temples; and contribute to the expenses of the public offerings and feasts.—The heathen above-mentioned complained that many Christians slandered them, as if they worshipped the devil; which, he said, was not true. But when he was reminded that they annually celebrate a public feast of offerings to the Pudari, whom they themselves name a she-devil (deam averruncam) that she might not come on their boundaries, he knew not what to answer, but hurried away.

Dec. 19.—The Romish celebrated their annual feast on Thomas's Mount. They carried wooden images of Simeon, Christ, and Mary, round the Mount; accompanied by heathen music, and pariah harlots, attired like the heathen dancing-harlots belonging to the pagodas. The Portuguese call it the Feast of our dear Lady of the Mount; the Malabar Christians call it, the Mother-Feast; and the heathens call it, the Feast of the Hill-god. The Pariahs carry the banner of their caste; white, with an elephant depicted on it. Other castes wanted to carry flags; upon which a quarrel ensued, which the bishop has, in vain, endeavoured to allay. The Pariahs actually armed themselves with weapons to murder the Patres, and Christians of other castes, rather than surrender their right and usage. Upon this, the Moorish Head interfered, and supported the Pariahs in their claim. Decent people among the Romish begin to be ashamed of such disorder and abomination, and would have the Feast done away with; but the Romish Christians say they would sooner cease to be Christians, than be deprived of their Feast.

Dec. 24.—Three Armenian priests called on us. They

mentioned that the Romish missionaries in Persia gain over many Armenian Christians; and then write to Europe and boast of the conversion of so many Mahometans; whereas it would be at the peril of their lives to baptize Mahometans, because all the Mahometans would rise up against it. At the present time, there is a Mahometan from Tauris, at Madras, who wishes to join the Armenians; but they decline to receive him, lest some detriment should ensue to their community in Persia; there being many Mahometan merchants settled here, who trade with Persia.

Sartorius to a Friend. Jan. 9, 1733.

"It is accounted an unpardonable sin among the heathens, to strike a brahmin; and if a brahmin is convicted of a crime, it is usual for him to plead his privilege in the European Courts. Last summer, a brahmin at Madras, was convicted of perjury; and the punishment inflicted on him (a common one in England) was such, that no one could say that he had been beaten; and yet it occasioned as much pain and more disgrace than if he had been flogged. He was put in a pillory, eighteen feet above the ground, for several hours, and pelted with hundreds of eggs, by the soldiers. This was done thrice, at intervals of three months; and then, he was set at liberty.

Much is said in the mission-accounts of the respect required from a wife to her husband. She must carry his food to him, and stand and wait on him; she must not sit in his presence; she must never call him by name. The last would be regarded as a great fault, for which he would beat her severely. The Romish Christians retain this custom; ours do not, especially those born of Christian parents. There is a caste of Writers or Accountants called Kei-caddu-canacker, (the Writers who point with the hand) because among them, the

wife never dares speak to her husband, but only points with her hand, and indicates by signs what she would have. Nor do their wives dare speak to another man.

The Malabar mode of swearing is various. For example: he who takes an oath protests it in the presence of a brahmin, and imprecates on himself that he may be attacked with this or that malady—that he may lose the use of his legs and arms—that he may become blind, or deaf, or dumb,—may die within so many weeks—or may be drowned: and then he drinks a glass of water. At this sort of oath they are ready enough. But there is another of which they stand in great awe. The swearer is required to traverse a long, dark, and gloomy passage, and blow out a small light near the god; and then imprecate on himself such and such evils, if what he swears is not true.

Madras is the chief trading-place on this coast, and people of almost all countries are to be found here: Turks, Jews, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, Greeks, Caffres, subjects of the Mogul, &c.

The Tamul language is rich in words. Thus, we have only one word for rice; but the Tamuls say—Nellu, rice threshed, but not dressed—Pair, rice as it stands in the field—Arisi, rice that is dressed (or as it is sold in Europe)—Soru, cooked rice—Caddi-soru, packed rice: i.e., cooked rice on which sour milk has been poured, and which is packed in a bag for a journey—Parhein-soru, cooked rice, the remains of a previous day, and eaten for breakfast—Canschi, the water in which rice has been cooked. This they use as a drink.

When a relative or intimate friend visits any one, he does not immediately enter the house, but sends some one before to announce him; or else, he sits down at the door, and mentions to the first person who enters the house who he is. Then, the

woman of the house brings him a vessel full of water to wash his feet; or pours it on his feet herself: and then, he enters. (Luke vii. 44.)

Some days ago, a heathen well-to-do, died in our neighbourhood. When carried out to be burned, they made a little tower of wood, and covered it with cloth of various colours, to be carried before the body. The body was placed in a dooly; and a man, hired for the occasion, went before with a bundle of garments, and spread them out for the bearers and mourners to step upon; running back at intervals, to take up the hindmost garment, and then running forward to spread it. Compare Matt. xxi. 8. Besides drums and cymbals, they blow a sort of horn at these ceremonies, the sound of which is shrill and somewhat fearful, befitting the occasion.

Diary for the Year 1733: by Sartorius.

March 19.—In a conversation with an old Malabar, he denied and scoffed at the being and providence of God, and other general truths which the heathens usually admit and affirm. Such an avowed atheist, we never before met with among the Tamuls.

March 24.—We came to a garden, where several heathens were engaged in a meat-offering to Nainar. This is done only by the low castes, who work in fields and gardens. There were three garden-beds under some trees, each about four feet square; the earth thrown up around the beds about a hand high, represented the walls of a temple. An opening in each bed, towards the east, represented the doors, at each of which were two door-keepers of mud, hand high, each with a flower on its head. In the centre of the two outer beds, was a lump of mud; and at the end towards the west, three more. The middle one is the Pulleiar; the other three are also gods. In

the middle bed, stood three gods in the centre; and behind these, five others. The offering was a new robe, afterwards called Nainar's robe. This was laid before the five Pulleiars, who were made of cow-dung. Before each Pulleiar, there were a ball of cooked rice placed on fig-leaves—a little uncooked rice washed in water—a little seasoning on each ball of rice—the confection, bettelei-packu—saffron-flowers, two bits of charcoal and incense, placed on a plate made of cow-dung. Our coming interrupted them; but their act of worship is made to each of the lumps of earth, with the words: Nainar, help me. The bank of earth and the Pulleiars are left standing; and children play there, till the rain washes it all away.

April 3.—A slave, after three months instruction, was baptized. This is the first instance of a slave of the English being baptized in our congregation. It is much to be wished that the example may be imitated, instead of their being left to be hung with Rosaries by the Romish, without instruction, and then abandoned to themselves.

April 11.—An ambassador from the new Nabob of Arcot made his public entry into the Town, and brought a Present to the Governor.

April 23.—The Guzerat brahmin mentioned in the Diary of last year, called on us again. He is inquisitive about Europe, and expressed a longing to see it. He owns that he can find no satisfaction for his mind in any earthly thing. He knows and admits the general truths of religion. On being shown a burning-glass, he said: Just as this glass must be ground and wrought with pains and labour, to concentrate the beams of the sun, and produce its effects; so must it be with the mind, that the knowledge of the divine favour may be produced in it.

A widow came to stay with her son who is a Christian, under the pretence of becoming a Christian herself. But so rooted in her was the heathenish nature, that though she went in and out with him, she would never eat with him. Caste* is a very great impediment to Christianity. At last she went away with her little daughter, a suckling seven years old: for the Malabar women often suckle their last child till the children themselves get ashamed of it. This child sucked only at night.

July 9.—We received the benefactions from Germany and England. Mr. Isaac Hollis sent another remittance. Fifteen children are wholly maintained at his expense.

August 4.—A Romish Catechist from Conjeveram had a conversation with us. He has been a Catechist under the Jesuits, for forty years. Within that period, twenty-four Jesuits had died in that neighbourhood; three, quite recently, after being there only a few months. They cannot accommodate themselves to the food and mode of living. They eat nothing but rice, milk, vegetables and fruit; wear the pandaram's dress; and are obliged, like the brahmins, to bathe frequently in cold water. They streak their foreheads with sandal-wood, to appear and be revered as heathen monks. This Catechist was an intelligent, and, after the Romish manner, an instructed man. When we reasoned with him about the worship of saints, &c., he listened, objected, and, at length said: "I have already suffered so much from the heathen, for the truth's sake, because I believed it to be the truth, and shall all this be lies and false?"

August 16, Sunday.—The Romish Christians of the Pariah caste, performed a play in front of their Church, in a neigh-

* From the Portuguese word casta, genus.

bouring village. One of the Patres mounted a theatre, built of sand, and briefly recounted the history to be represented, namely, that of St. Catherine, whom the emperor Maxentius put to death, in the fourth century. The Pater then withdrew into the Church, gave his blessing to the performers, and distributed flowers. He then returned home, leaving a Catechist to take the management. Many scandalous and blasphemous speeches were uttered; as when two devils blasphemed the God of the Christians in order to turn St. Catherine from the faith. Others, in the most disgusting terms, endeavoured to persuade her to yield to the emperor's desires. All this was publicly spoken, in the hearing of heathens, Mahometans, and Christians.

Oct. 17.—The heathens ended their Sarasvadi feast, in honour of the wife of Bruma. She is considered the goddess of learning and liberal arts; and therefore, it is celebrated chiefly by schoolmasters, scholars, and writers. All is done with a view to pleasure and amusement. They carry about the Pulleiar and the goddess for ten days, on ten different sorts of animals;—oxen, rats, mice, apes, horses, &c. On the last day, they sell Pulleiars made of earth in the streets. To these, the children at home make offerings of their books and styles.

Oct. 18.—One of our school servants who had been to Negapatam, to claim his share of his wife's inheritance, (which, however, her relatives withheld from him,) was passing through Pondicherry, on his return to Madras, when a Romish Catechist accosted him. The man fearlessly avowed who he was, and a Jesuit sent for him, without allowing him time to eat, though he had travelled a great way. The Jesuit told him that the Evangelical doctrines are highly damnable, false, and erroneous; and especially instanced 1 Cor. ix. 5.

Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife,* [eine schwester zum weibe], to prove that our Malabar Version is false, and thereby the whole Bible is perverted. "For," said he, "where was such a thing heard of among the heathen, that a man should marry his own sister? This the German Patres have foisted into the Bible, to excuse their marrying and child-getting—which is not permitted to a priest." Upon this, he put the Malabar New Testament, (which he had previously fetched from his library to refer to the passage) on the man's head; and breaking out into a loud laugh, in which he was joined by his Catechist, he said: "O thou poor simpleton, is this 'the true law,' that thou hast embraced? Dost thou not see the deceit of the German parsons? Wilt thou be wilfully lost?—As a heathen, thou wast damned; if thou wert baptized, thou wouldst come into a state of salvation, so that if thou wert to die at any moment, thou wouldst be saved. But now, that thou hearest the false law, thou art doubly damned."—After he had referred to other texts, and raised a laugh, as before, he spoke to him kindly, advised him to stay there; promised to get him a situation and maintenance; and said that if he saw their Service, he would like it. Perceiving that the man had Malabar printed tracts with him, he said: "Throw them in the sea, or tear them up and bury them in the ground, for whoever looks at them is damned, &c." At length, when he found that the man would not remain, but mentioned that he had letters for us, he let him go, after detaining him, however, till the next day, and again setting upon him, and getting his Catechist to dispute with him. He told him, at parting, to sell his things and come

* In Luther's Version, eine schwester zum weibe: in the English New Testament, "a sister, a wife." The passage is differently rendered by critics; but the interpretation on which the Jesuit founds his attack is a manifest perversion.

there.—It is quite wonderful that the poor man, who has scarcely been a Christian a year, should have stood out against such hard attacks.

Extract from Mr. Sartorius's Account of a Journey to Tranquebar.

Dec. 9, 1733.—Having been frequently recommended by Professor Francke, to visit the brethren at Tranquebar, with a view to promote brotherly union between the Missions, and being specially invited to be present at the Ordination of the Catechist, Aaron, I set off from Madras, on foot, this afternoon.

Dec. 10.—I passed through Tripulore, or more properly Tiru-pori-ur, the Holy War-City. Here, a feast is held every twenty-seven days. The heathens make merry at it; and scandalous doings take place at the rest-houses. It is not in honour of the feast, they assemble; but for pleasure, and to do things they cannot do at home. In the evening, I arrived at Sadras. Here, I had a conversation with a black Christian who had travelled in company with a Pater, to Denmark, Germany, and England, and had studied at Venice; but on account of his evil life at Goa, could not be made a Pater. He is now a soldier. He can speak German, Dutch, and tolerable Latin.

December 18.—I travelled to Sidambaram [Chillumbrum]. Here, a curious traveller might find occupation for ten days or more, in surveying the pagoda. Though the brahmins admit that they do not know when this costly structure was reared, they assign it to the times of the three celebrated kings, Schoren, Scheren, and Pandijen, 4485 years ago, or 400 years after the commencement of their fourth period of time, Calijugam. Without attributing so ancient a date to it, it

must have been erected when the sovereigns of this country were in possession of great wealth and power.

To the descriptions of the Missionaries who have formerly visited it, I will add a few notes. The Sidambaram temple contains five Pratadschanam, i.e. Courts or Divisions; four towers, answering to the four corners of the world; and five Shabei, i.e. Chapels. Within the high inclosing walls, there are numerous chambers in which sugar, coco-nuts, vessels, and other things used in the Offerings, are stored; as well as the wooden figures of the gods and the dresses in which they are decked out, when they are carried round at their feasts.

Each chapel has more than one name, and each name its proper signification.

1. Dewa-Shabei, Divine Chapel.

2. Mâ-Shabei, the Great Chapel, or Hall of a thousand columns.

3. Sitt-Shabei, the Little Chapel. In front of this chapel, stand five pillars of sandal-wood, signifying the five elements, (they reckon âgâsam, the atmosphere, as the fifth, as distinct from Kattu, the wind); or the five Pûdangoel, i.e., sects or kinds of Priests. In the wooden lattice before the Chapels, are eighteen columns, signifying the eighteen Purânangoel, or Historical Books. In the chapels there is a seat overlaid with gold-plate, which is called Swâmiin tiruwasi-prabei, i.e., God's holy Throne or seat, where he appears invisibly, as the Air; in which, however, drink-offerings are offered, and burning-lamps are swung to and fro. At the entrance stand, hewn out of stone, two Tuwâra-pâlager, i.e., Gate-Watchers, and âti-sêschen, i.e., the Great Serpent or the Original Serpent. Above, on the copper roof are nine gilded copper knobs, which represent the Nine Planets (the eighth and ninth are properly the Nodes of the Ecliptic, northern and southern, and called

Ragu and Kêdu) or nawa-sacti, i.e., the nine Chief Goddesses. The fore-court of the third Chapel, in which are the mystical Columns, is called Canaga-Shabei, i.e. the Men's Hall.

4. Mulastâna-Shabei, i.e., Head or Ground Chapel. Before it, stands a stone-god named Palli Isuren. Thus, when a Palli (i.e. a little house lizard) touches or falls on any one, it is counted unlucky; to avert which, a drink-offering is offered to this god. The Priest of all the gods, named Tidshana-Murti, is also imaged in stone, and receives offerings and worship.

5. Nirta-Shabei, i.e., Grace-Chapel, or Place of Joy. Before it, stands peli-pûdam, i.e., an Altar of Burnt-Offering, of stone. In the midst of it, is a circular cavity, to receive Drink-Offerings. The ascent to it is by steps, and the Altar is half the height of a man above the topmost step, so that the Priest can stand and conveniently fulfil his office. It is said to have been covered with gold plate; and the iron nails are still visible in regular series. The gold was taken away by the Moors, or more probably, by the brahmins, when the Moors came against the place. Close by, stands Kodi-Kambam, i.e., a Flag-staff. On this, at festivals, they hang flags.

From all this, it will be seen that the idol-worship of these people contains much that is hieroglyphical, which may probably have had its origin from Egypt; as may hereafter be made more apparent. Every reader may recognize vestiges of Jewish Ceremonies, if what is here stated is compared with former observations.

The brahmins are now engaged in erecting one of the chapels, having, no doubt, paid a large sum to the Moorish Governor for liberty to do so. Besides, the Governor himself is very fond of seeing the pagoda dancing-harlots play and sing, and will sit to look at them till two or three o'clock in

the morning. He is under the Nabob of Arcot, and is expected to maintain a force of 500 men, including thirty cavalry; but he keeps only a few, and puts the difference in his purse. The Moors here live a wild, licentious life. They slaughter beasts close to the pagoda; and the brahmins, who cannot prevent it, look on with indifference, and go on with their Offerings as before. The brahmins themselves are a rough set. One of them said to me: "He that gives us something to eat is our god, be he who he may." Even the Malabars of the place do not behave with the decency and respect common to Malabars in general. The reckless Mahometans acknowledge, indeed, only one God: but instead of making the heathens better, they make them worse. Their civil policy is very bad, so that they have no superiority over the heathens in this respect.

Dec. 20.—I arrived at Tranquebar. Here, let me notice, that more than half the crops from Madras to Sidambaram, were parched up for want of rain; whereas, from the latter place to Tranquebar, above half the crops were good, because in these low lands, the water is led into the fields. There is therefore great dearth; for at such times, those in authority store the grain to sell it as dear as they can. They see many dying from hunger, but their hearts are not softened into pity for the poor."

At Tranquebar, Sartorius was present at the Ordination of the first native preacher. Of him, he says—"In his deportment there is an agreeable gravity and seriousness, tempered with cheerfulness: qualities seldom found united in Malabars."

Jan. 10.—I started early from Tranquebar, and arrived at Cuddalore on the 13th. At the school-door, they met me in tears, with the tidings that Mr. John Beck, the schoolmaster, had died four days ago. Mr. Beck was a Wurtemburgher,

and came out to India in the service of the English East India Company. In 1716, when the English established a Charity-school for the children of Englishmen, at Cuddalore, he was appointed Œconomus; and as they were unable to procure a suitable schoolmaster, he took that duty also, teaching, first Portuguese, and, afterwards, English.

More than ten years ago, proposals were made in India, as well as in England and Germany, to found a Mission at Cuddalore; but nothing has been done. The place is very convenient for it, there being two towns, besides many villages; and the hostile Romish are not so numerous here, though they have two small congregations. But no orders for establishing a Mission have been received from Europe, and there are no means at hand; so it must be left to divine providence and a future time.

Jan. 20.—I set off from Fort St. David by moonlight, and arrived, the next morning, at Pondicherry. Here, I saw the Jesuits' great Malabar Church, College, Apothecarium, Laboratory, and small Museum of Natural History. The missionary who conducted me round, wanted to engage me in an argument on the supremacy of the Pope; but, remembering where I was, and the power they exercise here, I gave him short answers, and refrained from entering into controversy. He might perhaps know who I was, or he might take me for an English Chaplain, as I was on my way from Fort St. David to Madras; but it did not appear from anything he said that he knew I was a missionary. Among other things, he said: "Just as you Englishmen acknowledge none for your Lord, nor obey the commands of any one except the king of England, so the Pope is the Head over the whole Christian Church." I answered: "So the Pope is Bishop of Rome, and not of England."

Their Laboratory is spacious and handsome, and a Frater is daily occupied in it. The Apothecarium, both here and at other Missions, is a special endowment of the kings of France. From it, they dispense medicines gratuitously to poor Christians and heathens. The schools were almost deserted, many of the children being ill, and sent home to their parents to be nursed. Formerly, they taught Latin and Philosophy; but the parents preferring that their children should be taught what would enable them to get a living, they now teach them to read and write Portuguese, Navigation, and a little Latin. They have also a Malabar school, where the schooling is free, but the children live at home. The number of missionaries varies; because they are despatched to the Carnatic, as soon as they have learned the languages, and got habituated to the Malabar habits of life, such as to wear wooden clogs, daily ablutions in the tanks, &c.

[The following is a notice of a similar visit by the Tranquebar missionaries on their journey to Madras in 1732. "We applied for leave to see the schools connected with the Jesuits' College at Pondicherry. A Pater told us that he could not grant it. Having brought with us from Cuddalore a letter to the surgeon, he introduced us, when they received us in a friendly manner, notwithstanding we had been assured that they had previously warned their congregation against us. They led us into a hall where they were all assembled. Among them was Pere Bouchet, of the Lettres Edifiantes,* now an Emeritus, and who died soon after; and two Missionaries from up the country, who were invalids. When they heard that we had read their Letters, and that they had been

* Pere Bouchet affirms in the Lettres Edifiantes, that no year passed in which the Catholics did not baptize three or four thousand infants, and five thousand adults. Bouchet corresponded with Huet, Bishop of Avranches.

translated into German, by P. Stocklein, they expressed their surprise. They are engaged in building a large and handsome church, close to a heathen pagoda, which they expect by this means to supplant and get possession of.]

About four miles from Pondicherry, situated in a wood, is a Pandaram Cloister, named Pomeia-paleiam, founded by Kabu-Khan, the last Nabob's præantecessor; on what occasion, I have not learned. In front, nothing is visible but a small house of mud; but behind it, there is a large structure of stone, built round a quadrangle, open on the interior side, and supported by pillars. Beyond this, is a court containing small dwelling-houses, for above thirty Pandarams and their families. They work in the gardens and fields, and tend the tamarind and other trees. Three villages, with the lands pertaining to them, belong to the foundation; from the proceeds of which these people subsist, distribute alms to the poor, and maintain rest-houses and water-sheds (where water is dispensed to travellers) in several towns. In the furthest Court resides the Sannasi, i.e., a chief priest of the Pandarams, living unmarried. He has scholars throughout the whole country, and is occasionally visited by them, as their priest. He eats no rice, nor any other farinaceous food, still less, flesh; but only milk, fruits, and vegetables. Their sect is called Vira-seibam or Linga-taranam, because they all wear and worship the Lingam,* called also Vira-pattiren. The Sannasi was an aged, respectable, and apparently sincere man. He admitted that there is but one God, and that it is our duty to honour and worship him; for, except the Lingam, they worship no images nor deities. Of the Supreme Being, he spoke very reverently, and with some feeling. When I asked him why

* The Egyptian Phallus. "Utriusque sexus membris genitalibus divinum cultum exhibent (Tamuli).—NIECAMP.

they worshipped God under so obscene an image, he could not or would not give any other answer than that the custom had been handed down to them. What I further said of worshipping God in the spirit, and of His glorious and divine attributes, he listened to in silence and approved, and appeared to be impressed by it. On taking leave, he presented me some young coco-nuts and black sugar.

Jan. 23.—I arrived at Sadras, and was kindly entertained by the Dutch gentlemen. The next day, being Sunday, I attended their worship, in a chamber fitted up for the purpose. The Head of the Factory read several chapters of the Bible, prayers, and a sermon. This is much to be commended; for in many other places in India, where they have no minister, they seldom or never edify themselves out of the Word of God, nor seek to preserve themselves from the contagion of corruption.

January 27.—I had several hours' conversation with a Pandaram, now a Romish Christian, who is going about to solicit alms towards the erection of a Romish Church up the country. Heretofore, he used to roam about with his long hair, as a heathen doing penance; and he gives out that he was converted through the miracle that the body of Xavier does not decay, and emits a pleasant odour. He travelled with some others, to Goa, expressly to see the miracle, without which, he would not consent to be baptized; and the Patres at Tanjore, gave him a Letter of Recommendation. He saw the body of Xavier lying in a coffin, the lid of which was of plate-glass. He did not touch the body, but is fully convinced of the miracle. He further stated that he was present, about thirty years ago, at the martyrdom of Pater Johannes de Brito,* at Tanjore. Himself and some others were to have

* Joam de Brito was beheaded at Oriur in 1693: as some allege, because he had privately baptized the wife of the king of Marrawer.—Lettres Edifiantes, Rec. 2de.

been killed also, and he received a wound in his head, but escaped with his life. When John de Brito received the first blow, the sabre, which was made for the occasion, glanced aside; upon which, the Pater embraced and kissed the executioner. Then, kneeling down again, his head was severed from his body; the body fastened to a cross; and, at the suggestion of the Moors, his hands and feet were chopped off. The body was subsequently ransomed by the bishop of St. Thomé, a Wurtemburgher, of the name of Lanius,† and sent to Rome. This Pandaram carried on his head a small piece of John de Brito's cross, sewed up in a bag.

January 28.—I arrived at Mahâ-bali-puram, where there is much to excite admiration. Several pinnacles of rock stand out among the bushes, some of which are sculptured as elephants, lions, oxen, idol-cars with figures of the gods, all of their full size. Then, comes a longer cliff, some bow-shots wide, in which are spacious rest-houses, chapels, and chambers, and in several parts, columns in front—all hewn out of the solid. On one rock, many gods, giants, women, children, and animals are sculptured, together with the deeds of the giants. For example. In the fifth birth of Vishnu, named Vâmana-avatâram, when king Mahâ-bali-sackri-varti reigned, the king of the world of gods, Dêven-diren, caused a stone-rain (hail), by which man and beast perished. But Vishnu took up a rock, and with it, covered the shepherds, with their wives, children, and cattle. Some of them are represented in the act of running, carrying their children, and dragging their cattle.

A large mass of stone, hewn into an oval form, hangs poised on a sloping rock, and appears as if it must fall. This, they say, was once butter, which Kischtnen stole from

† Or Laynés. He was subsequently Bishop at St. Thomé. He professes that he baptized 1500 in six months.—LETTRES EDIFIANTES, Rec. 1.

the houses of the shepherds and deposited there; but a cat having come and eaten some of it, the whole was rendered unclean; so he caused both the butter and cat, &c.

Laedschmi, the wife of Vishnu, is represented, with elephants bringing offerings to her in golden shells, borne on their trunks. Above, on the rock, are some slight remains of a chapel built of bricks. There is a small bath hewn out, in which the goddesses, (probably, the dancing-girls who ministered in the temple) bathed. The fire-hearth and conduit-stone of the god are also to be seen: perhaps, heretofore, there have been buildings and roofs over them.

On the pinnacle of the cliff, there is a Chapel of some size, named Ema-Lôgam, i.e., Emen's World, in which Emen (the god of death) is represented sitting, while, with his Scribe, he examines the reckoning of the actions and works of men, and the period of their deaths and recompense. Near him, stand his angels or slaves, who torture the impious. In the Chapel is Kailâscham, i.e. Isuren's Abode or Paradise; and Veigundam, i.e. Vishnu's Abode. These gods are of large size, and beautifully cut. In front of this Chapel, on the point of a hanging rock, they had begun to sculpture an idol-car, with various small figures of gods; but the work is left unfinished. It is probable that the kings and wealthy people of former times had these works executed from time to time, and made pilgrimages to the place. On the hill are thickets and bushes, inhabited by wild cats and porcupines. At the foot of the hill, there is an idol-temple and many brahmins' houses. Close to the sea, there is a temple with lofty columns and of massive masonry, but the sea has beaten down the greatest portion of it.—The brahmins came in numbers to solicit alms; but listened to what I said of the nothingness of their idolatry with levity and indifference.

Jan. 29.—I arrived at Madras, strengthened in body, and cheered in mind, and resumed my labours.

Mr. Sartorius to Professor Francke. Madras, Feb. 5, 1734.

The Governor of Cuddalore, Mr. Hubbard, who received me with the greatest kindness, and with whom I stayed at his Garden-house for eight days, would have been glad if I could have remained and begun a Mission. The Seconde, and other English gentlemen concurred. No English Chaplain resides there, but one visits it occasionally. The Romish party has not such great influence and power there, as they have here; so that no particular hindrance could arise from them.

On my return to Madras, one of the English Chaplains recommended me to settle there. He called on me, quite of himself, without my having given him any opening to do so; and even offered to go immediately to the Governor, and obtain his permission, which he would give with pleasure. I excused myself, for the present, for the following reasons: first, because the Hon. Society at London had hitherto given no order to that effect; secondly, because I could not go yet, without detriment to the work, at this place; and, thirdly, because there is no fund for commencing such a work; whereas I should have to purchase or hire a house; engage one or more school-masters and catechists; and open a Malabar school. I begged him however to keep it in mind, and God would direct.

A missionary could be stationed at Sadras, to say nothing of Vizagapatam and Bimilipatam; the former, an English, the latter a Dutch Settlement. Nor does it seem impracticable in the Mogul's country, many Romish missionaries being already stationed there. All we want is more missionaries. Twelve could be employed immediately. I doubt not the

subject lies on the hearts of many Students of Divinity. Could not some King, or Prince, or Count, maintain a missionary? How long will the Great, who ought to be nursing-fathers to the church, fail in their duty? Is it not their own glory in the sight of God, when they do what may promote the salvation of others? Who will begin, and set an example? He who does so will be blessed of the Lord. And to what object can other rich persons better apply their wealth, than to the benefit of other members of Christ in Europe, and to the extension of the Kingdom of God among Unbelievers? In this respect, there is certainly a fault; so that we cannot escape from the objections and accusations of the Romish party. We missionaries are but nine, altogether; they have more than a hundred times as many.* God grant that the matter may be laid to heart by those who are competent to advise.

Diary for the Year 1734, by Sartorius.

Jan. 15.—We received the following letter from Colocatta [Calcutta]: "With the greatest humility, we poor souls, as lost sheep, address ourselves to you, as the only person we know to apply to. Our petition is that for God's and your office sake, you will be mindful of us, so that we may have a minister of the Lutheran religion. There are many of us scattered about in Bengal, who sigh for this, from the ground of our hearts; and especially for the sake of the many children born here. We pray you to recommend our case in any way you think best, and remain, &c."

Colocatta, Oct. 13, 1733. Signed by nine Europeans.

* The Missionary Gruendler, writing in 1719, states that the Romish Missionaries in the East were reckoned at 2000, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. They had been in India, about 200 years.

March 26.—The Tranquebar missionaries sent us a chest of books for our library, including the Biblia Pentapla, of which they have a duplicate.

April 9.—A Malabar Medicus was hung at Madras. He had administered poison to a man at Devanapatnam, to whom he owed a dollar and a half, and had buried him in his house. When he came to the gallows, the brahmins brought him some holy water, taken from the tank in front of the pagoda, or caught in a shell from the drink-offerings poured on the head of the idol. This he drank; and then, they hung a rosary round his neck. While on the ladder, he cried out, several times, Narajena (a name of Vishnu), and so he ended his life.

April 10.—On account of the great scarcity, consequent on a want of rain, we wrote to an eminent German at Vizagapatnam, requesting him to send us some rice, on payment. He sent us rice to the value of eighty R. dollars, as a gift to our poor school-children.

Aug. 3.—We received from England and Germany, letters, remittances, and books for our library. The benevolent Mr. Hollis continues his contribution for the maintenance of school-children.

Sept. 9.—The famine continues. When there has been rice for sale, the people have so crowded on one another that several have been killed. The starving people snatch food out of the hands of persons in the streets. Many drop down dead in the road. It is piteous to see them crawling about like so many withered sticks. Their bones can be counted —their skins are shrivelled—and many have not strength enough left to ask an alms. Many hundreds have sold their children—even infants at the breast—and for three or four fanams!

Sept. 11.—A woman brought her two sons to be prepared for baptism; after a time, she withdrew them. We afterwards heard the reason. She had borrowed money on the children, and a bond was given in writing; but the creditors inserted a proviso that if the children became Christians, they would not take them into their service. It is a common occurrence for parents of low caste to borrow money on themselves and their children, and pay it back by instalments, out of their daily hire, when they are in the service of their creditors. If they happen to have a large family, or if a dear season occurs, the debt stands over. If the father dies, the sons must either pay the debt or work it out. And thus it comes to pass that a man may spend half, or even the whole of his life, a slave to his creditor.

October 2.—The famine has pressed sorely on some of our Christians, most of whom maintain themselves by their day-labour; and with all our care and persuasion, we have not succeeded in preventing some of them from selling their infant children. Of children old enough to learn, we have undertaken the charge of fifty; others receive occasional help; and we have endeavoured, as far as our means would go, to support their children. But when once they are sold, there is no remedy. The trade in human beings is universal in this country, and men are bought and sold like ordinary shop-goods. All that is required is to get a slave-letter, each time, from the government, as a precaution against man-stealing. Now a day-labourer receives but one fanam* a day; and for this, at the present time, no more rice can be procured than is barely sufficient for a single meal, for one person. Add to

* A Madras fanam is about two-pence. According to "the Madras Almanack for 1819," the star pagoda, valued at 8s. sterling, exchanged in the bazaar for about 45 fanams, fluctuating according to circumstances.

this, many have large families, a father or mother to support; and during the rainy season, there is little work to be had. Many manage to sustain life on roots, herbs, and such fruits as are never eaten in ordinary years.

October 24.—After long drought, God sent a gracious rain. We offered public thanks to God in our congregation.

Famine was formerly a common event in India; and numerous have been the instances in which the hand of the Missionary has ministered some relief. In the instance mentioned in the Diary for 1734, the Missionaries were enabled to provide for the maintenance of fifty children by the liberality of an Englishman, of whom the little that is now known is gleaned from their Journals and Letters.*

The name of Isaac Hollis first occurs, Jan. 15, 1725, when he is thus spoken of by three Missionaries then in London, on their way to Tranquebar. "Mr. Isaac Hollis, the son of a merchant (kaufmann) called on us, and brought three guineas for the Mission. On the 18th, he came again, and brought six guineas as a present to us; and desired us to pray for him that God, by his Spirit, might direct him in his designs. He was very desirous to hear of the extension of the kingdom of God. And when we gave him an account of the Greenland and Lapland Mission,† he wrote all carefully down. He likewise told us of one James Roberts, who took great pains, in awakening such of the children of God as were known to him; and added that this man would cheerfully go on foot to spare a shilling to give to the poor. He was very frank and

* "Isaaco Hollis, benefico illo Anglo, consuctam liberalitatem suam continuante, populum etiam gravi urente annona, numerum liberorum scholasticorum augebant missionarii."—Niecamp.

† Founded by Frederick IV. of Denmark.

kind in his behaviour towards us, and invited us to be his guests."

In January, 1737, three other Missionaries passed through London to Tranquebar. "Mr. Hollis called and would have us tell him all we knew of the kingdom of God in Germany, Denmark, and all the places we had passed through. He promised to give a considerable sum to the Mission. He was very rejoiced to see us. On the 31st, he brought us two letters for Madras and Tranquebar, and sent his hearty greetings to the Missionaries. The sum he has destined for Tranquebar, he has already forwarded to the India-House."

In March, 1740, three other Missionaries were at London on their way to India. "Mr. Isaac Hollis pressed us to come to his house, where we dined, and were welcomed with much love. He has hitherto been one of the greatest benefactors of the Mission in England, and he now purposes to send a considerable sum to India." And again they say: "A conversation we had with Mr. Hollis, at the house of Mr. Secretary Newman, afforded us no little edification and encouragement. In his whole deportment he evinces an uncommon desire for the extension of the kingdom of Christ in the East Indies, as well as elsewhere, and especially among the young."

The name of Isaac Hollis does not occur in the list of Members of the Christian Knowledge Society, and he seems to have conveyed his benefactions either directly through the India House, or through Mr. Ziegenhagen, the German Chaplain; but in the annual Statement of the Society for the year 1735, he is thus referred to. "The benefactions to the Madras Mission have hitherto fallen very far short of the expense; amounting one year with another to little more than £146; while the disbursements one year with another, exceed

£360. These disbursements must have run the Society greatly in debt had it not been for the annual remittances sent thither by Professor Francke from Halle, and by *a charitable gentleman from England who desires to be unknown.*"

The sum contributed by Mr. Hollis to the Danish and English Missions appears to have averaged £150 a year; and while it is characteristic of him that he gave a discriminating preference to the mission-schools, it is still more so that mention is made by the Missionaries at Tranquebar, in 1746, of a daily allowance given by his direction to fifty-eight children. At subsequent periods his name does not occur, probably because he was desirous to be unknown; but that he continued his bounty may be presumed from the fact that in 1776, fifty-one years after his name is first mentioned, the Tranquebar Mission received the sum of £1200, and the Madras Mission, the sum of £700, under the Will of Isaac Hollis, who directed "that *these sums should not form a permanent fund nor be expended in building*, but should be applied in such way as the Missionaries should find most conducive to the extension of the Gospel, and especially in the education of children."

Mr. Sartorius to Professor Francke. Jan. 26, 1735.

My leisure hours I have employed in reading Tamul books, and on a Tamul Lexicon. By the former, I enlarge my knowledge of the language, as well as prepare myself for the compilation of the Lexicon, thereby acquainting myself with the doctrines, ethics, and customs of the nation; so that they may not be able to object to us, when we converse with them, that we do not understand the hidden sanctity and rectitude of their religion, of which they are wont to boast.

The Malabar Lexicon was left written on oles leaves by Mr. Ziegenbalg. In 1726, a copy was made on paper, which was

sent to me, I have enlarged it by inserting the meanings of the Malabar words and phrases, in Latin, and adding other words. I have completed about a third of it. If God grant me health and life, it will be finished within two years; or earlier, if I employ myself on it constantly. This must be left to the divine disposal; for I can promise nothing, because though a useful, it is but a secondary work; and must not interfere with my chief business, that of teaching, exhorting, and caring for the congregation. Last year, I was engaged in drawing up a Summary of the Leading Articles of Religion and Holy Scripture, for the use of the schoolmaster and older boys, such a help being needed by them. I have also drawn up a Harmony of the Four Evangelists.

A friend from the north of Europe lately wrote to us: "Ignorance and evil are such strong pillars of Satan's kingdom, that one is ready to give all up; but we must set ourselves against them in the power of God, to pull them down." This we learn by daily experience; and I take the admonition especially to myself, and believe that the right way is this—to make a path for the kingdom of God to come to us, and then, His Will be done.

Last year, accounts reached us that in 1733, the Romish missionaries were driven out of China. The causes are said to be these: the mandarins will not endure that the missionaries should converse privately with their wives; and it was from one of them happening to return home on business, and finding a Pater with his wife, that the alarm was first given. They also consider it contrary to their morals and customs that women should sit with men in church. Women, in the East, are kept very secluded. Further, the Paters have been endeavouring to withdraw their new converts from under the existing authorities, and to subject them to their own, under

the pretence that the commands of the mandarins are contrary to the laws of the Christian religion. Many wagon-loads of church furniture, &c., have arrived at Canton on the way to Macao, the place to which the missionaries have, in the first instance, retired.

The chest of idols, with a description, I will send by the English ships.

Diary of the Mission for the Year 1735, by Sartorius.

Jan. 1.—An English friend who visited our congregation, declared that during all his residence in India, he had never witnessed such an affecting sight. They sit on the floor, on mats; during prayer they all kneel; and, at the conclusion, when the Amen is pronounced, many of them reverently raise their folded hands to their faces or foreheads. After the sermon, a new-born infant was baptized; and, according to their custom, was brought in nearly naked; which affected him still more.

Jan. 31.—A schoolmaster of the sect of Vishnu, with whom I had a conversation, confirmed what I had previously heard of a certain religious sect who kill and eat men of other sects. His own father had been exposed to this danger in the Marrawer country, but had escaped. They beguile travellers into their houses, as if to entertain them. When the doors are securely fastened, they propose two questions: Tiru-mudi-padto?—Tiru-vadigœl-padto? That is: the holy crown, or the holy foot? This is a pass-word given them by their priests, to ascertain if a person is of their sect or not. If he give the latter, they welcome him as one of their own sect; if the former, they bind him, cut off his head, divide the body into pieces, cook the flesh, lay it as an offering to the head, worship it, and take the flesh away and eat it. The head and

bones they bury in the court or near the house. This sect is called Corumi-madam. Sŏme of them reside in the jungles towards the north.

The man above referred to, was warned of his danger by a little girl in the house, who pointed out to him in the court, the buried heads of men who had been thus murdered. He sprung over the wall, rushed through a hedge, and alarmed the inhabitants of a village. The latter armed themselves, surrounded the house, and slew the people, except the little girl who gave the information.

Feb. 14.—I witnessed a heathen feast celebrated before a gigantic image, called Mannahr-Swami. No brahmins attend; this deity belonging to the dii pagani, called by them Krahma-Devadei. They cook abundance of rice on the place, everyone contributing a lump, and casting it down on a cloth before the idol. Many attend the feast, and dance and jump round the image, with tinkling brass rings in their hands, and paper-towers and water-pots on their heads. One of them had an iron wire passed through the skin of his back. Presently, they brought in a black goat, which a man was to have bitten to death, suck the blood from its throat, and spit it out on the rice; and then, all present would have taken a share of it, and carried it home to eat with their rice. On this occasion, the man bit the goat so imperfectly, that its life was preserved. He seized it by its four feet, kept its head down by his own head, till it seemed to be dead; presented it to the idol; and then, took it aside. On another occasion, I saw them slaughter a black goat before the idol, cook its flesh, and then take it away to eat at home. This feast is celebrated every six months, at or soon after the solstices. It is really held in honour of the sun.

Feb. 27.—I went a two days' journey up the country.

Under their Mahometan lords, and the extortionate men who farm the land under them, the peasantry pass their lives in miserable slavery and oppression, especially in the present drought and dearth; but they do not perceive God's judgments, nor turn to Him, but ascribe it to the sins committed in their previous births. So universal and so rooted from their childhood, are these prejudices; and so little conception have they of the leading truths of natural religion (which they might however learn from some of their own books) that more is required for their conversion than a passing discourse.

April 12.—The first portion of the revised and improved translation of the New Testament, was sent to me from Tranquebar, for my remarks.

October.—The ships having now all sailed, in anticipation of the rainy season, the inhabitants have more leisure; and some of them come to us with all sorts of philosophical and theological questions. I will mention some of the points proposed by an old man, considered to be intelligent, compared with others of his class.

1. The outward worship of images is only a guide, and the images of the gods, a Curippa, (token or memento) for simple people, who would otherwise forget God. They who rest in the sign, and do not draw nigh to God in their hearts, these are heathens. 2. The soul of man is a distinct and glorious essence, the excellence of which cannot be fathomed or expressed. It has an endless craving, which can be satisfied only when it obtains the approbation of God. 3. Conscience, (which he called Sattam, the Voice,) we are bound to esteem highly, and attend to as the voice of God; otherwise, we cannot attain to wisdom. He quoted some verses from their poets on this subject, with which I was much pleased. 4. He would not admit the existence of devils and evil spirits, but

alleged that they are men's evil thoughts, lusts, and imaginations. Consequently, he would not receive the account of the Fall. But he admitted that sin is not from God. 6. Of the renunciation of sin, and of nearness to God, he spoke with much energy and feeling. 7. The necessity of a mediator between God and man, because sin is not corruption only but guilt, he would not concede. Still, he did not contradict angrily, but merely said that he was not convinced of it.

The heathens generally are shy of our Christian books, and do not willingly read them. A brahmin, however, begged me to give him part of the Bible to read; and I will here briefly enumerate the objections he advanced, especially to Genesis chap. i., and to certain Psalms. 1. The prayers and psalms are as of one entangled in worldly business. Their saints and hermits prayed only in heart, through meditation and contemplation or speculation, without directing their thoughts and views on anything in the world, and without words. 2. How could David pray for the destruction of his enemies? this is not suitable to a holy man. 3. Why does David attribute eyes an dhands to God? He is a Spirit. 4. How can it be said that man was created in the image of God? He is a Spirit. 5. What is meant by God's resting after the creation? 6. What is meant by God's hallowing and blessing the seventh day? 7. It is said, Gen. i. 29, God gave man green herbs and fruits to eat: why then do we slay and eat animals? 8. Animals and cows have souls and bodies, over which man is not lord. Lordship over animals implies slaying them, as little as the authority of a governor over the subjects of a king, implies putting them to death. Lordship implies only government and protection. 9. Protection from hurtful beasts can be secured in other ways than by slaying them. For example, they extract the fangs of serpents, and the stings

of scorpions, and set them at liberty. 10. In the Book of Wisdom, chap. xiii. xiv., and in Baruch, the idols are much contemned. If, then, the Romish-Catholics receive these as their books of law and religion, how, he should like to know, can they justify their image-worship?—My answers to his objections it is not necessary to insert.

Mr. Sartorius to a Friend. Sept. 5, 1735.

I must admit that God has not left my labours entirely without success, for which I humbly thank him; and from the precious promises which he has given on his word and truth, I derive hope for the future. Still, I cannot deny that it is very difficult to effect much with this very barren, sluggish, and withal artful nation. It requires a long time before one can bring their rusted and bewildered minds to some little attention and reflection. The old habits of evil sit immeasurably fast upon them. O! what patience, pity, and sympathy, with assiduity, are needful!

Our schools afford us good hope that many children will be brought to the Lord, and abide constant to the truth in which they are instructed.

The heathenism of this country is a sink of every kind of superstition and impiety; a cloaca, in which all that was erroneous, superstitious, foolish, and wicked, in ancient heathen nations, is collected together. The worst is that the devil has so strongly entrenched and fortified his palace, by a multitude of foundations and revenues for idol-worship; by the various orders of priests and teachers; by the ties of castes and sects. Add to this, the abominable slavery under which this nation (I cannot say, sighs,) but slumbers, without perceiving their misery, or feeling a desire after divine help. God's judgments press upon them, so that we see with our

eyes many of the curses mentioned, Deut. 28, xvi.—and yet, they feel it not.

Mr. Sartorius to a Friend at the University of Halle.

September 6th, 1735.

The doctrine of CHRIST, is the articulus articulorum, the sum of all we teach, and all we learn; and we can never out-learn it, nor sufficiently teach it.

You refer to my sudden call to India in 1730. Sudden it was, and yet it was not. As far as relates to the outward Call, sending, preparation, and departure, it was sudden. But as early as Nov. 1729, the subject was on my mind; so much so, indeed, that I could neither labour by day, nor sleep at night. When the two missionaries for Tranquebar had been selected, and had actually set out for Denmark, I had some respite; but when another was wanted for Madras, the feeling began to work again, especially when the offer was made to Mr. ——— in my presence. At last, when I was appointed to preach the Epiphany Sermon, at Ulrich's church, on Isaiah lx., "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, &c.," the conflict began in earnest. I bent my mind to meditate and compose my sermon; but my thoughts flew from the text and its promises, to a particular application, a desire for India. The black heathens, the school-children, the voyage, &c., rose all before my mind. Still, I kept all my thoughts to myself, except that I knelt down in my chamber, and prayed to God to remove it, if it were a temptation; or if it proceeded from Him, and were His operation, to bring it to effect. And upon this inward preparation, followed the outward effect so quickly and suddenly that all were taken by surprise. Much has resulted from all this; for under many severe conflicts and difficulties, this has encouraged and strengthened me against

the spirit of despair. I have looked back and said, with David: "Lord, remember thy former loving kindness, &c." And it is also a ground of confidence and hope in the future. Paul connects the past, present, and future together. 2 Cor. i. 10.

Thus much as to what you mention respecting my Call. In the future world, we shall find matter for praise in our knowledge of the ways of God with his Church and with individual members of it. Here, what "we know in part" serves to our encouragement, and as a beginning of praise.

In referenee to that grand article of divine truth, CHRIST, the Mediator and Redeemer, it has often occurred to me that the heathens here, who have received many truths by tradition, (though they do not understand them) have some idea of a mediator between God and man. But having forsaken the true God, and turned aside to false gods, they have lost the true Mediator, and have substituted in His stead, a monster with an elephant's head, Pulleiar, i.e. the Prince, or Exalted Son. Pulleiar is a son of Siwen; and before they draw near to worship the latter, they first go to the former. There is generally a pulleiar-chapel in the court or at the entrance of the temple of Isuren or Siwen. Others, indeed, have taken as mediators, the oxen on which Siwen rides; and the chapels are so built that the worshipper, pausing between the altar of offering and an ox standing on a low wall,—with his (the worshipper's) face towards the north,—perceives, on turning his head towards an aperture in the wall, Siwen standing in the gloom, towards the west; and so he performs his devotions.

Mr. Schultze to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen. Oct. 3, 1735.

I have received your letter as well as that of the Hon. Society. The permission to build a church is very acceptable,

but the actual building must stand over until God supplies the funds. To found a mission at Cuddalore, is a good thing; but my ill state of health will not allow of my undertaking it. Pain prevents my adding more.

Mr. Sartorius's Account of the Mission for the Year 1736.

January.—The German sermons are continued at 6 o'clock on Sunday mornings. To this labour, which does not strictly belong to our mission, we are prompted by affection to our fellow-countrymen, with many of whom the saying of Solomon is fulfilled, Prov. xxix. 18. Most of the Germans here, are soldiers; some are constables and mariners.

A fine Malabar boy of five years of age made an interesting end. Shortly before he died, he asked his father for something to moisten his mouth, and when it was handed to him, exhorted his father not to ill-treat his mother nor to beat her. He then put his hands together, according to the Indian fashion of greeting, and raising them to his face, and looking at his father, said: Saruvesurenuck-istostiram, i.e., Thanks be to God—the usual salutation of Malabar Christians, when they meet or part. He then laid down, and, shortly afterwards, resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator. The night before, he had not spoken, nor till then, on the morning he died; nor had he been in the habit of greeting his parents thus, but only strangers. The words therefore made a deeper impression, and were regarded by his parents as a farewell, and token of his approaching end. He used often to come to me and repeat as much of the Lord's prayer as he was able, or, with a little help, the whole of it; and then, such short petitions as I repeated to him, such as:—O Lord, help—O God preserve me—Jesus, save me.

February.—I sometimes take a journey inland. At Matabaram, I met, at a rest-house, a rasa, or one who counts his descent from the former kings of this country. I invited him and the brahmin who has charge of the rest-house, to sit on one of my mats, which they accepted as a favour, Europeans generally not making themselves familiar with common Indians. The rasa was an intelligent man, and asked questions about Europe. What I told him in reply, he repeated to the brahmin. This is an Indian custom. If you tell them anything that interests them, they repeat it to the by-standers or to the speaker himself, as a token that they understand you.

March.—I was at a place called Padi, where a goldsmith of Madras built a temple and rest-house, about twenty years ago. He is now dead; and his heirs being too poor to keep them up, they are falling into decay. This is the case with multitudes of temples and chapels in this country. No one is allowed to repair them without the consent of the founders or their heirs; and such consent they do not readily give, because they think that thereby the founders lose their recompense with God, and their fame with men. And he who undertakes the care of another's foundation, likes to have it called after his own name, that the reward with God and the glory with men, may be his. For the true reason of such foundations are these; and also to atone for the sins and wrongs by which their riches have often been acquired. By recompence with God, they mean riches, honours, good days, and pleasures, in another life, in this world. They call it blessedness, but what they mean is wealth in the next birth.

April.—I will here mention some questions and topics proposed by a brahmin with whom I have often conversed, with a view to show what, on a closer examination of the

Christian religion, he still desired to have cleared up. For the sake of conciseness I omit my answers.

1. Why the Second Person in the Godhead is called Son? and whether it is not a convenient form of expression?—To the names Holy Ghost and Father, he made no objection. 2. How and whence did Moses learn the order of the creation of the world? 3. Whether Moses himself lays claim to divine inspiration, and extraordinary revelation? and whether he alleges divine command for writing? 4. How the oral tradition of the creation could have been correctly handed down to Moses, a period of nearly 2500 years? 5. How, according to Gen. i. there could have been a first, second, and third day, when the sun was first created on the fourth day? 6. God not being the author of sin, how, without his will or working in man, could the first sinful thought have arisen? (The brahmins hold an everlasting Karmam, by which they understand human action, be it good or evil—actionem vel vim agendi, motum, et fatum.) 7. How the deaths of Moses and Joshua came to be recorded at the end of their books, when they are themselves reputed to be the authors of these books, and, after their deaths, could write no more? It would appear from this that the books were written by some one else after their time. 8. Why did Joshua address the sun? Whether the sun was formerly regarded as a living, sentient being, as the brahmins consider it now? 9. The descriptions recorded in the Bible of wars, bloodshed, extirpation of nations, crimes of individuals, &c., appeared to him to be contrary to the sanctity of a law-book, in which such things should have no place. 10. How can it be proved that the world is not older than 5700 years? Rejecting the fables and fallacies of the brahmins, he had found, after long investigation, that the most moderate computation would be 20,000 years.—(There

is no regular history or chronology extant among them, even for 4000 years.) 11. How the history of Christ, and of the origin and spread of Christianity can be proved? 12. What proof or refutation exists of the received history and martyrdom of the apostle Thomas at Mailapore or St. Thomé? 13. The religion and image-worship of the Romish are contrary to the Bible, in many principal points.

I omit much on which I have often conversed with this man. Our objections to their religion and to heathenism, he communicated to other learned brahmins; but their answers failed to give him satisfaction. Their Chronology he rejects as false. He has read great part of the Bible, and various Christian books, in Varuga, Malabar, and English. In astronomy and geography, he rejects most of the Indian theories and absurdities. To the worship of idols, he feels in his conscience a strong abhorrence, which, when he visits their temples, sometimes powerfully affects him. For example, he was once seized with fear and shuddering at the thought of worshipping deities whom he accounted worthless. At another time, he could not refrain from laughing at the crowds of people who thronged the temple to worship the idols. Sometimes, the thought occurred: What would Sartorius think if he saw me in the midst of this senseless crowd? On one occasion, when attacked by illness, attended with severe pain, he had thoughts of sending for me to pray to Christ for him, that if He were truly God, of which he was not fully convinced, He might help him. When the pain ceased, he forgot the thought. He is convinced of many of the truths of the Christian religion, and has some good feelings. May God grant him further light, grace, and truth, to full conversion!

October.—Died John William Pfeiffer, one of the Pfaltzers [Palatines] who went to England in Queen Anne's time, and

who were sent to St. Helena, where he worked as a smith for many years. Subsequently, he returned to Germany, and a year and a half ago, he came to Madras. His conduct here was Christian and respectable. During his illness, we assisted him both in temporal and spiritual things, according to our power.

The brahmin mentioned in April, sent me the following questions in writing, dictated by another brahmin; and requested concise written answers.

1. Where and how was God before the creation of the world? 2. Are the upper, middle and lower world (i.e., heaven, earth, and hell, or the region under the earth) like angels and souls, created, or from eternity? 3. Are angels and human souls mortal or immortal? 4. Where, how, and in what form, can souls, when separated from the body, suffer good or evil, glory or pain? 5. Will the good and evil, immediately after death, suffer woe or joy, each according to their works? and are all rewards or punishments alike, or different in degree? 6. Will Christ come to judgement, in the body and form which he assumed at his birth, and which he had in his passion and at his death? 7. After the last judgement, will the visible heaven and earth, with all that is therein, be annihilated, or remain? 8. In what part of the earth will Christ appear when he comes to judgement? 9. How can the souls of men, at the time of the resurrection of the dead, enter again into their bodies? 10. Will angels and men be together in bliss, and enjoy like glory? or will they be in different places, and enjoy a different glory? And will they be with God, or in a different place? 11. After the last judgement, will there be sin still, or will it be entirely annihilated and exist no more? 12. Are both angels and beatified men with God, changed into his essence, and blended with God; or are they with God, but not changed

into him, but retaining their own nature?" These questions partly relate to by-subjects, and refer to the being and nature of souls and spirits, on which the brahmins hold different opinions, and are, indeed, split into sects. I answered them, without giving any opening to needless disputes concerning souls and spirits; and afterwards received some further objections, to which I propose to reply, because the brahmins hold such extremely erroneous opinions concerning souls and spirits, from which originate their false doctrines concerning God, the soul, sin, &c.

November.—I took a journey up the country on account of illness, and received benefit from the exercise, country air, and sweet water. Omitting all reference to my conversations with heathens, I will confine myself to the following incident. Five carpenters, resident at Madras, came, by previous agreement, to the rest-house where I happened to stay, with the intention of noting on their way all tokens and prognostics—omina et indicia; and from them to gather whether a proposed marriage between their children would be good and fortunate, or evil and unfortunate. According to the signs they meet with, they fulfil or break off the proposed match. On their arrival, they talked with great pleasure of their having already met with three good signs; namely, that it was a good day, according to the Kalendar, and a lucky star; that the crow flew to their right, and some other bird to their left, across their path; all that was wanted was that they shonld see a heron fly across the road to the left. The bride's relations proposed that they should proceed as far as the next village to look for the heron. To this the others objected that they had already met with lucky signs enough; that this was the place agreed upon; and that therefore it was unnecessary to proceed further. At last, some agreed to go on; another followed; and one stayed

behind. After being a silent listener for some time, I began to reason with them. They admitted the truth of what I said; still, it did not prevent their going on in hopes of seeing the fourth sign. On their return, they said they had noticed neither good nor ill. The heron had flown to their right; so far, an unlucky indication; but it suddenly stopped and flew to the left. They therefore resolved to conclude the marriage.

December.—One of our congregation went to Negapatam to claim of his wife's relations a portion of her inheritance. It was the same man who was so beset by the Jesuit at Pondicherry, in Oct. 1733. I gave him a letter to a Dutch friend of mine, but recommended him to try first what love and kindness would effect with her relations; and rather give up something of his just rights than appeal to the magistrate. He returned with a very small share, which the present possessor agreed to pay him, at the intercession of some of her relations; and thus he parted from them in peace. But he had to stand out against some severe trials. They promised him subsistence for a year, a house, and constant employment, if, to efface the disgrace he had brought upon his caste by becoming a Christian, he would consent to repair to a temple at Sripirembutur (a day's journey west of Madras); submit to be branded on both arms with the seal and arms of Vishnu (these are of copper or iron, and made hot); bathe in the holy tank; worship the idol; and give a written promise to abide hereafter in their heathen religion. Upon this, he desired them to give him the conditions in writing first, meaning to make use of it before the magistrates. This they refused, and thereby betrayed their craft. He then avowed his determination to remain a Christian. They then began to abuse him, calling him a Sadtei-karen and a Toppi-karen, i.e. a coat-churl and a hat-churl—the names they give to Indian-born Portuguese,

because they dress like Europeans. He was cast-down when he told us all this; but his wife, who accompanied him, behaved with spirit; expostulated with her relatives, on their injustice and their worshipping a stone; and reduced them to some degree of mildness and fairness.

The occupations of my leisure-hours in furtherance of the mission have been the composition of the following works in Malabar. 1. A Lexicon. 2. A Geography. 3. An Introduction to Holy Scripture. 4. A Harmony of the Gospels.

My Collectanea on the religion, customs, and history of the Indians, which I commenced some years ago, I have considerably increased through intercourse with learned brahmins and others. I take as my example the learned John Spencer's Tractatus de legibus Hebræorum ritualibus. Hereafter, it may perhaps assist in tracing out the real origin of the idol-worship of these people.

Mr. Sartorius to a Friend at Halle. Madras, Feb. 16, 1737.

For what you have sent me, I say heartily: Thanks. I will use it when I need it, not forgetting poor naked Christians, to whose relief I have already devoted part of it, not to mention what one cannot refuse to their necessities of one's own. Though we often seem obliged to cut close, we know: Bonum habemus Dominum. He has wealth at His disposal, and can supply us.

The Lord our God has graciously maintained my hope that the mission will go on; and though difficulties often show themselves, he has hitherto graciously supported me, and not suffered my heart to sink.

Though so far apart that we can only receive letters from Europe once a year, while it takes eighteen months to get an answer, we, Europeans, get news almost every year over land,

by Constantinople, through Arabia or Persia, and through Bombay or Surat. A fews days ago, we received the news of the Peace in Europe; of the death of Prince Eugene; of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Saxe-Gotha; the League against the Turks, &c.

Mr. Sartorius to Professor Francke. Cuddalore, Feb. 3, 1738.

On my return from Tranquebar to Madras in 1734, I reported to the Hon. Society in England the proposals made by Governor Hubbard and others, for establishing a mission at Cuddalore. In 1735, the Society directed that the work should be begun by the Missionaries at Madras, but difficulties intervened to prevent it. The Society persisted however in their resolution; and on their reiterated orders, Mr. Geister and myself resolved to remove thither. Having therefore obtained Governor Benyon's permission, we quitted Madras, July 26, 1737, and arrived at Cuddalore July 31, where we were well received by Governor Hubbard, and other English gentlemen.

The Tamul Lexicon, I finished in May 1737, so far as concerns my first labour on it. This consisted in annexing the Latin meanings to the Tamul words; inserting many phrases, proverbial expressions, &c., a concise description of many ceremonies and customs of the Indians; and the addition of several thousand words. I then sent it, in parts, to Tranquebar, where one of the missionaries reduced it into alphabetical order, and added a Latin index, and several copies were made by a scribe for their and our use.

I have steadily maintained a somewhat intimate intercourse with brahmins and other heathens, learned and unlearned. Had my means permitted, I would have erected a little hall or veranda in a garden in the suburbs, with a view to induce the

heathens, (who stand very much on ceremonial purity, and will not enter into the houses of Europeans, except for purposes of trade and gain), to come and enter into conversation with me, as several have expressed a desire to do. I had all sorts of plans for alluring them to me, and inviting them to friendly conference, which I proposed to intersperse with philosophical and theological positions against their religion. Several Indians highly approved of the design, and I was in actual treaty for a little garden in a remote part of the suburbs; but some doubts that arose about it at the time, induced me to give it up.

On our journey to Cuddalore, we visited Mabali-buram, where there are many figures carved in the rock. The date of this remarkable place, it is difficult to ascertain, because the brahmins have involved it in their mythology. They say it is the work of Pandaver (otherwise Tarmarasackol, or the beneficent and righteous king,) who had five brothers who reigned at Astinaburam or Delhi, about 4840 years ago, shortly before the commencement of the Calijugam or poverty period (iron age). Their names were Tarmen, Wimen, Atsunen, Nagulen, Sagadewen. Tarmen gambled away all his estate, money, clothes, cattle, and the kingdom itself, to his kinsman Trijodiren. There was an agreement, however, that he and his brothers should receive it again, after an exile of twelve years, and a secret retirement of one year; but if they failed in concealing themselves, and were discovered by the spies of Trijodiren, they were to remain in exile a second period of twelve years; and so forth. During the time of their exile, they resided for a season at Mabali-buram, and carved the figures. On a rock as steep as a wall, Arsunen's penance is sculptured in relievo, as large as life. He has long dishevelled

hair and beard, like those of the ascetics of this country. He stands on one leg, with his hands stretched out above his head, as imploring Isuren to grant him the miraculous weapons, which never fail to wound and slay from ten to a hundred enemies: yea, a single shaft shall be multiplied into a hundred or a thousand, and slaughter as many foes. This he asked in order to recover his kingdom, well knowing that Trijodiren would never restore it, according to agreement. Then comes Isuren with the whole host of gods; wonders at his severe penance; beseeches him to abstain from it; and hands him the arms, with which he overcame his enemies.

The oval stone which hangs poised on the rock, and is said to have been butter, we partly measured with a line, and partly computed its dimensions, as follows. The rock on which it is poised is eighteen feet high, and very steep. The base of the butter-stone is twenty-four feet in circumference. The diameter of the lower portion is 30 feet; of the upper, 24 feet; the length 36 feet.*

One of the last Indian emperors, Krisdtna-rajen, who reigned two centuries ago, is said to have harnessed sixty elephants to the stone, and failed to pull it down. The Europeans call the place the Seven Pagodas, from seven pinnacles of the rock and chapels, seen from the sea. Above four miles to the east, a great city is said to have stood, now overwhelmed by the ocean. Rocks are visible from the shore; and some years ago, an English ship was wrecked upon them.

Mr. Sartorius to Professor Francke. Cuddalore, Feb. 8, 1738.

It has long been asked what became of the remnant or posterity of the ten tribes of Israel who were carried away by

* Sartorius accompanied his description with a sketch, but some of the index-letters are not discernable.

Salmanezer. The countries to the north and west of India are probably those through which they are scattered; and it now appears that some of them are to be found in India. I do not allude to the "Jews," who, to the number of a hundred or more, live near Cochin, on the Malabar coast. A few European or Asiatic Jews also reside there, who do not intermarry with the inland Jews, but despise them as Blacks, and get their wives from Arabia. The inland Jews at Cochin probably fled into those parts out of the territory of Babylon, Chaldæa, Arabia, &c., during the time of the great persecution under Mohammed; and having intermarried with Indian women, their complexion has become, probably from that circumstance, very little different from the Indian dark-brown colour. They are acquainted with the Talmud; and their customs and ceremonies agree with those of other Jews in Asia-Minor, Egypt, and Europe. These people are "*Jews*," i.e., the posterity of those who returned into their own land, after the Babylonish Captivity, and were afterwards driven out again. The name *Jew* arose at that time, because it was the tribes of *Judah* and Benjamin, with a few others, who returned from Babylon.

The Israelites, to whom I refer, dwell in the country of Surat and Rasapore. They do not call themselves Jews, nor understand the name, but Bene Israel, children or descendants of Israel. They have not the books of the Old Testament, nor do they understand Hebrew, but Hindostani, the language of the country where they reside. What they know of religion is not yet ascertained; except that they make use of the words שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד : "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord, is ONE,"* as a formula of prayer or of doctrine; after the custom of the Mohammedans and

* So Sartorius renders the passage. In the English Version: "The Lord, our God, is one Lord."

many heathen sects in India; each of which has its particular formula of words, as a Symbol of their sect. They are partly weavers, and partly boatmen, and supply the ships with necessaries. Others are soldiers and workmen. They practise circumcision as a part of their religion. They wear turbans and a long dress reaching to their feet, and long trowsers, just as the Mohammedans do. They do not intermarry with other Indians, but keep to their own people.

This account I received from Indian and German Jews resident at Madras, who gained their information from other Jews who come from Cochin. One of these English Jews had seen and conversed with several of the Bene Israel in the country of Surat. Since I heard this, I have been at the pains of making inquiries of brahmins, Mohammedans, and others, who come from the north; but have not been able to get any further accounts. Should I hereafter do so, I will not fail to communicate it.

Mr. Sartorius to a Friend at Halle. Cuddalore, Feb. 1, 1738.

Six months ago, I arrived at this place from Madras. We are two good days' journey from Tranquebar. The first steps towards the conversion of the heathen are here, as elsewhere, difficult. Still, our labour has not been wholly in vain; four persons have been received into the Christian Church. Several heathen families have entered into a nearer communication with us, though they are not yet actual catechumens. With others, I have frequent conversations, partly at home, partly abroad; and the fact of our arrival and design is become pretty well known in the surrounding villages. We hope, in time, to reap a harvest; and if we have to cut it, ear by ear, our Lord of the harvest will not disdain to accept it. May He be with us and help us!

My strength and health, which frequently suffered from

attacks of illness at Madras, have been, in some degree, recruited here, where we enjoy a healthy atmosphere, and a fertile soil; so that I begin to look something like what I did at Halle. But be life, and strength, and all, resigned to the will of God, who will direct all for the best for us.

JOHN ANTONY SARTORIUS.

Mr. Missionary Geister to Professor Francke.

Cuddalore, Sept. 19, 1738.

With sorrow I have to communicate to you that it has pleased divine Providence to remove from my side, my highly esteemed fellow-labourer, Mr. Sartorius, by a sudden and unexpected death, between eight and nine o'clock, of the evening of May 27th, 1738, O.S. As is usually the case with us, when the land-wind prevails, he had been somewhat exhausted in body, and kept himself at home, though employed in his duty; and I conferred with him several times, the day before his death. Finding himself better, he went out and called upon some friends at the Fort, apparently too early in the day; for the lassitude returned, accompanied with some disorder in the transpiration, so that when I called again, he was reclining on the bed, but in no apparent danger; nor did he himself allude to it. The following day, the land-wind was so extremely hot that I was exhausted, and obliged to remain within doors. He wrote me a note, and the servants passed between us, but nothing was mentioned as to any danger; and so I resolved not to go out till the evening.

About six o'clock, one of the servants came, of his own accord, to tell me that Mr. Sartorius was lying in great heat. I hurried on my clothes; but when I arrived, I found him in such a state that I could scarcely get from him a broken answer. It was an anxious sight; but still, I had no

apprehension of sudden death, because, once before, he was seized with a sudden paroxysm at Madras, which subsided in a few minutes; and from certain symptoms, I had been habitually apprehensive of a recurrence of the attack, and had, several times, cautioned him to guard against it. But God's providence ordered it otherwise. The heat increased, and manifested itself in the restless movements of his body. I tried by soothing words to induce him to lie still, hoping that thus the heat would allay itself. Presently, he was attacked with convulsions, attended with loud and strong expirations, and his senses seemed quite gone. I took him in my arms, raised him up, exhorted him to hold on his Saviour, who would cause this also to pass over; but he no longer seemed to have any perception. As soon as the convulsions ceased, he lay quite still, without motion or feeling, in great heat, his pulse and breathing scarcely perceptible. Some of those around said that there was no longer any hope; but my mind could not believe that this could be the time of his departure. This continued nearly an hour; till, at length, his hands and feet began to be cold, and by nine o'clock, it became evident that dissolution had taken place. I was in such perturbation that my mind seemed lost, and I could scarcely persuade myself to believe what I and others beheld with our eyes.

I left his body in the care of some who were there present, and notified the sad intelligence to the English gentlemen of the place. That night I spent at home, without being able to sleep; and the next day, Sunday, was to me a painful and anxious day. In the evening of that day, his body was committed to the earth in the English burying-ground, the service of the English Liturgy being read over him. Most of the English gentlemen attended, and several of them expressed

sincere condolence. On the following Sunday, June 15, N.S. I preached a memorial sermon to our small congregation, on Deut. xxxii. 39: "I kill, and I make alive."

As I held him in my arms and spoke to him when he was dying, I thought with much feeling: If there had been no previous preparation here, what would have availed the presence of the best of ministers? The blessed deceased had passed, in this weary pilgrimage of life, only thirty-four years, three months, eighteen days. His loss is deeply to be lamented, not only on other accounts, but because of his extraordinary proficiency in the Malabar language. According to the testimony of those competent to judge, "He spoke like a brahmin." His frequent illnesses appear to have arisen from disease of the liver. In addition to this, may be mentioned his mental exertions. He read and wrote more than was advisable, and was not sufficiently careful in attending to bodily nourishment; as I often told him. After our arrival at Cuddalore, his constitution seemed to recover itself, and both he himself and others considered him to be more lively and active.

Shortly before his death, we began a Portuguese school, in which there are, at present, twelve children. I have communicated with the Honourable Society, and requested them to send me a new helper, for I sensibly feel what it is to be alone, with such a charge.

From the Missionaries at Tranquebar. June 9, 1738, N.S.

From a letter of Mr. Geister, we learned, with great sorrow, that God had suddenly removed dear Mr. Sartorius, and received this lively, diligent, and faithful labourer into His rest. He wrote to us three days before his death, though confined to his bed, and concluded his letter with these

remarkable words: "The Lord bless you all according to your several necessities, and let us never forget to 'look stedfastly at' Jesus Christ." *

We are also reminded of another letter he addressed to us from Madras, July 4, 1735, on occasion of the death of Mr. Missionary Worm.—"Your circumstances, dear brethren, are much in my mind, now that God has visited you with illness, and called to Himself two of your number, from your side. What He, as Lord, does with His servants, we as fellow-servants must not mistrust, though our infirmity yields to sadness. In His time, the holy and wise government and ways of God with His Church,—His ministers,—and His children, will be better understood. And Oh! what wonders will then be disclosed! How shall we be able then sufficiently to admire and praise God!

In the meantime, let us persevere in the work the Lord has assigned us, and await His help in patience, until He shall unharness and fetch us home [unausspannen und heimholen.] I, unworthy, who am now the only one left of four, who came out together, am not yet meet and ready. Therefore, to me, God, in mercy, grants more time and opportunity for preparation. May He make me faithful and wise to improve them aright!"

So died the first Missionary sent by England to India, whose bones repose in that heathen land. In the burying-ground of Cuddalore, a sentence from one of his early Letters would form no inexpressive epitaph on John Antony Sartorius,—who in the year 1730 came to India, 'not for gain or good days, but to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ.' His self-denying labours among heathens and their children, as well as in his

* The immediate reference is to the Epistle for Ascension-Day. Acts i. 10.

"one room" in the Black Town of Madras, attest the former part of this description. As to the second, though his earlier expectations of success mellowed into a conviction that the part assigned to him and his fellow-labourers, was to make "a pathway for the kingdom of God to come," the hope that the Mission would be continued, he maintained to the last. This passing tribute is due to the memory of an interesting Missionary, whose name has fallen into oblivion.*

"I sat down on an elevated spot to contemplate this scene—paganism, with its blood and impurity, on the one hand; and the Christian Missionaries, on the other. I thought on the commandment of our Saviour, 'Go ye, teach all nations.' I said to myself, 'How great and glorious a ministry are these humble persons now exercising in the presence of God! How is it applauded by the holy Angels, who have joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth! How far does it transcend the work of the Warrior or Statesman, in charity, utility, and lasting fame!'"†

With the death of Sartorius, and the establishment of a Mission at Cuddalore, concludes the First Period of the English Mission.

* His aged father, who survived him, directed that, of the little left by his son, thirty Rix-dollars should be given to the Mission.

† Buchanan.

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